THE POURTRACT OF THE POLITICKE *Christian-Favourite*.

Originally drawn from some of the actions of the Lord DUKE of St. *LUCAR*.

Written to the Catholick Majesty of PHILIP the *Great*, and the Fourth of that name.

A Piece worthy to be read by all Gentlemen, who desire to know the secrets of State, and mysteries of Government.

By *Marquesse Virgilio Malvezzi*.

To this Translation is annexed; the chiefe State Maxims, Political and Historical observations, in a brief and sententious way, upon the same story of Count *Olivares*, Duke of *St. Lucar*.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

To the Reader.

Good Reader,

A *Little* Gold *is of more value then much* Lead, *and there is more excellency in a ſmall* Diamond, *then in the greateſt* rocks *or quarries of* free-ſtone,, *there is a quantity of* vertue, *as well as of* bigneſſe; *and it is the* quality, *not the* quantity *that for the moſt part ſets price and eſteeme upon things. This booke though ſmall in* bulke, *yet is great in worth, and containes more wealth in a* little roome, *then thou ſhalt find in more capacious* buildings. *I am confident had* Alexander *lighted upon this piece, hee would*

have given it entertainment wit
Homers Iliads, *in* Darius *h*
rich Cabinet, *here are briefly an*
sententiously set downe many ex
cellent and rare State Maxime
and Politicall *observations upo*
some prime actions of the greate
Favourite, *to the greatest* Princ
of Christendome, the Author
the Marquesse Virgilio Malve
zi, *a man so noble and eminent*
very way, that hee needs not m
pennicell to delineat him; I re
commend this piece to thee, as
jem *of great value, and desir*
thee to drink it downe with no less
cheerefulnesse and delight, the
Cleopatra *did her rich* jewel
when she entertained Mark An
tonie; *and so I bid thee heartily*
farewell.

An

An Introduction to the Reader.

I Never (Reader) writ abook, with greater haſt, nor with greater danger; for the Enemies of that ſubject whereof I write, will call me enemy, the Corrivals flatterer, the friends weake, and he perhaps himſelfe, will deeme me raſh; one will believe I have ſaid more then is ſaid, another will undertake to know I have ſaid leſſe; ſome will make me

ſay, that which I would not ſay; and to conclude, it will be much lamented, that I have taken ſuch a freedome and liberty of ſpeech, I doe humbly intreat the Lord Duke to excuſe me, his friends to beare with me, his competitours to know, that I write not in flattery, and his enemies to believe, that I write not in hatred.

I confeſſe it an undertaking of no great diſcretion, to write the actiõs of any man, without knowing whether he will repute it, a hate, or a kindneſſe; and I ſhall peradventure be diſcredited with thee my reader incredulous, that I can ſet down

rules

rules of policy, and cannot put them in practice; for that I could ſay, the Byt-maker cannot byt a horſe; but I meane not to make that ſervile, which is Architectonicall, nor write my ſelfe a maſter, wherein I am but a Scholler.

I could ſay, that if a little houſe, and a great City, be not the ſame, that then likewiſe, the policies of Princes will not be the ſame with that of particulars; but there I expect no glory.

I ſeeke for no excuſe, all my actions are without policies, for I my ſelfe am without intereſts; profeſsing my ſelfe onely, to be moſt affectionate to

my friends, & moſt devoted to my Lords, and this is a known truth to ſuch as know me.

Nothing did more ſuſpend my pen from writing this booke, nor more retard my provocations to print it, then the being moſt aſſured, (the perverſeneſſe of the times make mee ſpeake it) that the world which is full of intereſts and flattery, will judge mee too, to be full of intereſts and flattery; but now I returne to your excellency (great Favourite) and here doe publiquely proteſt, that I have writ for truths ſake firſt of all, for ſo, nay more then ſo, do your great actions merit; then, after that ingratitude,

tude, for ſo much and much more, I am indebted to the noble offers, which ſo exceeding lovingly, you did make bee made mee, in times that were to me calamitous. And if I have not lighted upon any thing, that ſuites with your liking; I doe humbly again intreat you to excuſe mee; but if you doe happily, value my will to merit a reward; any reward whatſoever, that is not either your favour or your praiſe, ſhould by mee, be reputed for an inſufferable injury, and I ſhould be compel'd by neceſsity, to call your Excellency by the name of ingratefull. My family hath never knowne, how

how to deſerve rewards in *Spaine*, with any other pen then with the Sword; nor with any other ink then with blood, and I am ſtill likewiſe ready, both with the one and the other, if not to deſerve, yet at leaſt to ſerve.

I am not of ſo poor a condition, as that I am forced to write for a reward, nor am I of ſo arrogant a diſpoſition, as that I write to give inſtructions; but I am leaſt of all ſo far from vain, as not to write for praiſe, which peradventure is my due, if not becauſe I merit it, yet in regard I ſeeke it; for though this affecting of praiſe be not to be commended, yet

is

is it out of queſtion to be tolerated, becauſe it is borne with us; becauſe it ſeldome times dies before us, and it many times makes us live longer then we doe live.

I intreat thee Reader, and I humblie intreat thee, (that if ever my writings have beene of any merit with thee, either by unloading thee of idleneſſe, or by withholding thee from drowſineſſe) to be willing to favour me with a beliefe, that in all my paſt & preſent books, I never have meant, nor doe ever meane, to blame any living man, either particular Favourite, or private; the heartie devotion which I bear my Lords,

nor

nor the tender affection which I beare to my friends, never as yet hath, nor never ſhall have power, to make me forget that reverence, wherewith I am obliged unto Princes, or that reſpect whereof I am a debtor to all men. As for my writings they are not figurativelie, but literally to be interpreted, nor have they anie breath but what they breath; I write not after the *Ægyptian* manner, nor have I ſaid, but what I ſay; And ſince I am not willing to ſay, that which I have not ſaid, be pleaſed not to make mee ſay, what I ſay not. I ſeriouſlie proteſt, that if anie, for what cauſe ſoever, be moved to write againſt

gainſt mee; my purpoſe is to afford him no anſwer; for if he write againſt what I have ſaid, either that I have ſaid will defend it ſelfe, or elſe it will not merit a defence; and then if he write againſt what I have not ſaid, it nothing belong unto me to defend it.

For a Concluſion, be adverti-ſed Reader; that the book is not yet finiſhed; nor indeed can I deſire to finiſh it, if I doe not deſire to out-live him, who is worthie to outlive time, and to hold out with all eternitie; the All that I write, is not the All that the Duke hath done, nor all that hee will doe, but it is onelie a little that I came to

heare

heare of, of the infinite of that which hee hath performed; it ſhall be ſufficient for mee, that if my hand may not have a quil of *Mercuries* vving, that ſo I might flie this loftie pitch, that it may have but one of his fingers to point out all the way; and who can tell whether this my booke, but onelie vvith the lifting up of the hand, may not beat time to a conſort of ſweet ſinging Swans, vvhich flie in a more noble aire, amidſt his fortunate Skie? but let the heavens forbid, it ſhould beat time, unto the harſh and importunate diſcords, of ſuch, vvho baſelie trouble, the Chriſtall ſtreames of Wiſedome and veritie.

State

State Maximes, and Politicall observations on the actions of Count Olivares.

ANgels are the figures of God, Favourites are the figures of Angels.

The glory of things past, is like the King of Bees without a sting and the vanity thereof.

The relation of things past, is like the painting of a picture, and some oddes there is, in relating things past, and present.

Historians subject to divers censures.

What is represented to the eye is more forcible, then what is read in papers.

In

In marriages worth is to be as well regarded as wealth.

A mans Country is not where, but under which he is borne.

Man is a tree inverſed; whoſe hold is in Heaven, not in the ground.

Trees bred on ſtormie hills prove ſtronger, then thoſe which are planted in fruitfull warme vallies.

The Law-givers were Polititians, & the Law politicall, but now profeſſors of the Law are become Empericks, and the Law it ſelfe made mechanicall.

The Stars have alwaies the ſame influence, but they ſeeme not ſtill to be the ſame.

Cyrus was firſt a King of boyes, then of men.

Why the firſt borne have the greateſt fortunes, and the younger the greateſt vertues.

Riches preceding vertue hinder it, but if they follow, they helpe it.

To be alwaies amongſt bookes, is to die amongſt the living, and live amongſt the dead.

No-

Nothing of old honourable but valour.

Glory consists both in knowing and in doing.

When study is not delightsome, it is a passion, not a labour.

They that will serve Princes, must spend their youth first in their studies, before they become Courtiers.

Man a moveable world; when hee goeth not forward, he returnes back, and can no more stand still, then running water, which if stopped, will rather ascend against its nature, then stand still.

The aspects of the firmament are not without some opposition, nor the greatest fortunes without some molestation.

To be made governours of remote places is an honourable and ordinary exile of unfortunate worthy men.

Distance thawes the actions of remote governours, that they seldome arrive to the Princes eares, except by the Favourites meanes.

The

The Suns ſplendor is ſo great, that the thickeſt Clouds, cannot totally intercept it; ſuch are the beames of worth which cannot be hid.

A little heat is ſoone extinguiſhed by cold, but a great heat increaſeth by antiperiſtaſis or oppoſition; ſo it is with eminent worth.

Ageſilaus would not have his riding upon a ſtick amongſt his boyes be told to them who were not parents, leaſt they ſhould thinke him too fonde a father; neither will Favourites have their love to the Prince known to their enemies, for feare of miſconſtruction.

Lovers doe not onely love, when they are beloveed, but alſo when they are hated; which love is in the heart, not in the head,

Love is radicated in the ſoule, but diffuſed into the body, as the Sunnes light is extended where his Globe is not.

He that cannot moderate the baſe affections of riches, cannot temper the urgent

urgent provocation of domination.

A spotlesse Favourite admits of no companion, but he makes him his enemy; for though in ability in managing great affaires require it, yet ambition will not brooke it.

A Favourite that desires a companion seemes to accuse the Prince of tyranny; as requiring helpe against his barbarousnesse.

If *Tiberius* cannot wait upon the Princes body, hee will wait upon his carcasse.

Habit is not like nature, but is another nature; not a copie, but the originall.

The habit which is necessarily produced by actions, doth not necessarily produce actions.

Love which is in habit, by a little disturbance receives no detriment.

A rest in Musick, if short, its delightfull, if long, it dislikes; so long expectation wearies the desire, and weakens love.

The long absence of a Favourite from

from his Prince, may retaine the reputation of profitable, but looseth the opinion of necessary.

He that would have it believed that nothing can be done without him, must not give time that it may bee done.

It is wisedome sometimes to make shew of refusing the favour presented.

Discourse requires setled spirits, but love unsettles and troubles them.

Agrippinas wise act in calling home *Seneca* from exile.

Its ill when for the mans sake vertues are banished, but worse when for his vertues sake, the man is exiled.

The people punish worth, when they feare it, a popular Government then feares, but a tyrannicall hates it, and an Aristocracie both envies, hates, and feares it.

Favourites cannot be tyrants over others, if they be not first so, over their Princes.

The differences that are betweene a great Counseller, and a great Favourite.

The favour of Princes comes partly y destinie of our birth, partly by our wne prudence.

When a Favourite doth every thing, nd nothing done without him, hatred s begot.

When the inferiour heavens do not move with the first mover, they move by it.

The primum mobile may cause contrary motions in the inferiour orbes, as well as the soules of man, and of other creatures in their bodies.

A true Favourite in the interest of the King, and in right of justice, knowes no friends, and hath no parents.

The Prince like the Sun is the equivocall and universall father of his subjects.

A man hath blood for the foundation of his paternity, a Prince hath love.

He that loves not the Prince more then others, makes himselfe no sonne, but a servant, and the Prince no father, but a Lord.

In correcting of errours, many times errours are committed, either becauſe they are believed as neceſſary, or becauſe profitable.

When Princes ſuffer men of worth to live retiredly, its a ſigne, that either they know not, or elſe hate their worth.

He that will not ſerve his Prince and yet knowes how to ſerve, is more faulty then he that ſerves him ill, not knowing how to ſerve.

Retiring is the reward of ſuch as have wrought; he that retires and hath done nothing, will have his reward before his merit.

Retiring is a recompence to them that have done enough, but a puniſhment to the idle.

A man may reſt, and yet not be at quiet, yet for the moſt part he is moſt unquiet, when he is moſt at reſt.

He that ſells juſtice, ſells his Prince.

Gold blunts the edge of the ſword and weighs downe the ballance of juſtice.

The hunger of Gold is not naturall, but ſicklie, therefore is never ſatisfied.

Example is more powerfull then the Law; becauſe the law workes by violence; example by love, that produceth feare, this affection.

He that loves another better then his Prince, makes that man a Prince, if not of others, yet of himſelfe.

The Favourite that would reforme the Kings Pallace, muſt firſt reforme his owne houſe.

The Favourite, that raiſeth his own family, makes this the center, and the Kings houſe the circumference, which ought to be contrary.

A wall that hath a good foundation needs no buttraſſe, nor hath a Favourite who is founded on worth need of his kindred to ſupport him.

The Favourites of a Favourite ſerve him as little for a ſupport, as the tree doth the Elephant, againſt which he leanes.

The end of tyrannicall Lawes, is to

enſnare, puniſh, and impoveriſh.

Princes honour thoſe rich men moſt that have moſt, the people them only, that imploy moſt; for they extoll bounty and magnificence, becauſe of the benefit they have by it.

A Tyrant hath more reaſon to feare the money that is ſpent, then that which is hoarded.

Favourites ought not to eſtrange Princes from all manner of buſineſſe.

Riches are not the pay of worth, but the wages of labour, honour is the reward of worth.

If honours or titles grow common, they have no rewards of worth, nor are they, when they are ſold.

Needy Princes give more honour to the wealthy, then the worthy.

States encreaſe ſometimes with money, but never without valour.

When a league thrives its broken by jealouſie, when it thrives not, by fear.

Many Arts and Sciences have the ſame objects, but the ſame manner of con-

considering them.

Leagues are not alwaies hurtfull, and fearefull, but alwaies envied, and hated.

To despise riches is a great vertue, but to distribute them is a greater; for morall vertue consisteth not in being poore, but in making ones selfe poor.

He that will not be rich is unprofitable, he that flings it away is vain, but he that spends it commendably, is liberall and magnanimous.

He that cancels wealth out of a wise mans heart, cancels liberality, one of the morall vertues, and to flye the meanes that make vertue, is to flie vertue.

The spirits flie to the heart in feare, to the face in shame.

Time lost in prosecuting of businesse is more precious, then the money that is consumed in feasting, apparrell, and sumptuousnesse.

The life of a good man is long, because it is a journey from earth to hea-

ven; but of a wicked man ſhort, becauſe he miſſing this way, goeth quickly to hell.

No time ſhould abridge the reward of him that ſerved for love, becauſe though he ceaſe to ſerve, he ceaſeth not to love.

Aſtrologie falſe in all parts, but chiefly in marriages, which are made, not according to inclinations, but for ſome ends; hence are the change of tempers in Families.

Men are eternized partly by generation of children, partly by the ſoule.

It is the quality, not the quantity of ſubjects, that make Common wealths great.

He that intends the greatneſſe of his Family, is one that loves his own reſpects, and ſatisfieth not the obligation of a perfect Favourite.

A Monarchy is but a *Chaos*, albeit there be many operative Officers in it till there come one onely architect,

by

by whoſe direction it is ordered and diſpoſed.

As unity is the life of man, ſo it is of bodies politick.

The ſcarſity of gold is the cauſe of its eſteeme, and it is ſcarſe, becauſe it is not produced without a great victory; nor obtained without great reſiſtance.

Quiet Favourites are the birth of the favourable beames of *Jupiter* and *Venus*; but thoſe who delight in wars, as Crowes flocking to dead bodies, are begot of *Mars* and *Saturne*.

Warlike and troubleſome Favourites increaſe the water, but diminiſh the channell, becauſe they increaſe the mud, but ſuch Phaetons are oftentimes thunder ſtruck.

There is a true prudence that hath a reall good for its end, there is an other which ſeeme.

The braines of a witty man are like the waving Sea, ſtill unquiet.

A prudent man falls not from favour,

if the Prince fall not into tyrannie, and he doth not tumble, but go down.

Witty men flie up ſuddenly like balls of earth, then fall downe and breake.

Souldiers are not enriched by their pay, but by their plunderings, inrodes, and victories.

A Favourite that increaſeth the Princes means, increaſeth alſo the eſtates of the people, for a rich Prince is not taking but giving, therefore a holding Prince is more deſiderable, then a bountifull.

The reaſon of State, and Religion are ſo conjoyned in Chriſtian Kings, that they are not to be diſjoyned.

Lucifers intention was not to exalt himſelfe above God, but to withdraw his ſubjection from, that ſo of one, he might make two Gods.

There are two reaſons of State, one of God, the other of the Devill; that is to come neare to God, and to become great, this is to goe from God,

and

and to make himselfe great.

Such as are inflexible in receiving, are so in giving, the same severity that they use against themselves, makes them uncharitable towards others.

A Favourite is to esteeme the service done to his Prince, as done to himselfe.

He that receives every thing is too covetous, he that takes nothing is too severe, he that gives alwaies is too prodigall, and he that never gives is too miserable.

A magnanimous Favourite, will helpe by liberality, when he cannot by justice; and if he cannot intercede to the King for them, he will give like a King to them.

Man is a reasonable creature, but when he layes aside his justice, he deprives himselfe of reason.

Justice hath a Sword in one hand to punish, and a ballance in the other hand to weigh mens merits.

To pardon such whose natures are enemies to nature, may be magnanimity, but not to punish them is injustice.

The man offended may pardon the offence, but the Judge must punish the offender; who is therefore called God, because he doth not punish as man, but as God.

The Judge in punishing the malefactour, doth not render evill for evill, but good for evill, and justice for unjustice.

Not plants but beasts are savage because of their sense, but man is most savage, when his reason is ill directed by the sense.

All States yea Tyrannies are governed by an Aristocracie; to wit, by Magistrates or Officers.

If a Favourite doth nothing, he becomes nothing, if he do every thing, he savours of a Tyrant.

Every science to be well learned, and every office to be well discharged,

requires

requires a particular quality of the braine.

He that is employed in busineſſe of State, ought not to be ſuperiour to it, for ſo he will deſpiſe it; nor inferiour, for ſo he will come ſhort of it, but there muſt be a ſutable equality of the affaires they are employed in, to their capacities.

He that is more afraid to ſinne in the preſence of the Prince, then of God; he doth as it were doubt of that which is certain, and is as it were certain of that which he doubts.

All our errours proceed from our ignorance of God, for though we know that he is, yet we know not what he is, becauſe we ſee him not as he is.

Princes can have no better maſters and inſtructors, then the lives and actions of their progenitors, in whoſe ſtories they ſhould bee well verſed.

If men are deſirous to know the

learning of the Ancients, they should likewise desire to imitate their actions.

Though men be not changed in their Species, yet they are changed in their actions, which follow the Individualls, and the change of diet, hath altered the temperature, and this in part changed the manners.

The Heavens and Starres are not changed in their substance, and motions, but in their aspects, which is the cause of the diversity of sublunary effects.

Its no wonder that there is not one man like another upon earth, seeing there is not one constellation like another in heaven.

As in Astrologie, the observation that is neareſt, is least false, so in policy, is that example, which is most moderne.

All ancient Medicines, and precepts for diet, are not now to be used; nor are all ancient Lawes now convenient.

As

As in Sculpture men are not now shaped with the same habits they wore of old; so moderne States are not now to be ruled, after the manner of the old Romanes.

The World is like an Instrument of many strings, alter one, and all are out of tune.

As Empericks are to be condemned in Physick, so are Exemplaries to be abandoned in policy, for we are not to make use either of ancient or moderne examples.

Many examples are required to make a rule; many of them are dangerous, as being not from prudence, but from fortune, which is not to be presupposed in busmesse, but to bee desired.

Meates which stay only in the stomack, do not nourish the body, so history which remain only in the memory, doth not informe the judgement.

Polititians are not to operate according

ding to the judgement that they have raiſed upon the reading of theſe examples.

Princes are not by ſubjects to be ſatyrized againſt, but to be praiſed if paſt, followed if preſent, and to be wiſhed for, if future.

If Satyrs be falſe they move laughter, if true, they excite choller, they then that puniſh them, approve of them.

To be blamed with a lye comforts, for it intimates a not being able to be blamed with a truth.

Princes that find themſelves galled with truth, fall into fury, becauſe they perceive that known, which they did not believe to be known.

Liberty of ſpeech, and writing againſt a Prince, cauſeth him to looſe his reſpect, which once loſt, produceth rebellion.

It is better timorouſly to avoid dangers, then confidently to encounter them.

If

If beauty moves to love, it incites to compaſſion, which is formed either from the quality of the perſon, or of the buſineſſe; this is produced from feare, that from love.

Feare is of things future, love of things preſent; therefore though feare be more active, yet the perſon preſent moves more compaſſion, for that which is, hath much more vigour then that that may be.

Woman was made not againſt the intention of nature, but for generation; from the aſſaults of whoſe beauty we are better preſerved by diſtance, then by reſiſtance.

To blame competitors is either a ſigne of great good, or of weakeneſſe, and when it proceeds not from zeale, it proceeds from envie.

Though an Artiſt at firſt, make ſome excellent Artificer his object; yet afterward he reflects more upon the greatneſſe of the art, then of the Artiſt.

To

To ſtand firme in a good opinion is conſtancy; in a bad, is obſtinacie.

He that is chiefe of the counſellers, is not alwaies found to be chiefe in counſells.

The object of the underſtanding is truth, if it be quieted with that which may be, and may not be, it is deceived.

Monarchies are ſupported by two baſe Pillars, that is, by Executioners and Sergeants, as the ſweeteſt gardens are by the baſeſt excrements of beaſts.

The office of executioner, which was performed by *Samuel* and *Eliah*, is now for want of zeale to Gods glory, left to the meaneſt people, as alſo that Princes might not ſeeme terrible to the people, and ſo be more feared then loved.

The moſt capitall offence in conſpiracy, is to conceale the conſpirators, for he that knowes a rebellion, and holds

holds his peace, shewes more feare then love.

Tyrants by their wickednesse, have made the revealing of conspiracies an infamy, and the plotting of them a glorie.

The Prince as a Physitian ought to use his subjects that are sick of infamy, roughly, not to kill but to cure them.

Not only ought fortune to be pictured on a wheele, but also every thing else in this world.

Cities that rebell against their Princes, though they overcome, yet fall into many inconveniencies, as the overthrow of their Countrie, the destruction of the people, the consumption of their Exchequers, &c.

The love of interest which is a Clyant, doth easilie overcome all other loves, which are but children.

The space of an hundred yeares, is the bredth of the channell of the river of forgetfulnesse.

Re-

Rebellions are unfruitfull, vain, not without great danger, and extreame great losse.

The *Romanes* dealt courteously with the *Grecians* in beating down the walls of their Cities; for so they made them the more vertuous, and lesse rash.

Mens good complexion is oftentimes their death, because being confident of it, they fall into disorders that kill them.

Wars sprout out again, when Conquerours know not how, or will not know, or are not able to make an end of their victories.

Warres many times would not be, if the greatnesse amongst equals did not bring forth envie, and if there were not jealousies amongst inferiours.

The covetuosnesse of Princes to get large Dominions, is grounded upon the desire they have, to keepe what they have got.

Auguſtus by not dilating, but bounding the Confines of his Empire, both fortified the ſame, tooke away envie and feare, and made it known that his deſire of domination was not infinite.

Breach of Faith hath cauſed jealouſie, and jealouſie envie.

Historicall Obſervations.

The Lord *Jaſper Guzmans* pedegree.

Count Olivares *was borne in* Rome, *and for twelve years went up and downe with his Father.*

Having entred into Spain *hee diſpoſed himſelfe to the ſtudy of the Lawes.*

Made Rector of the Vniverſity of Salamanca.

His elder Brother died.

His Father alſo died about the ſame time.

He went to the Court after he had got learning.

He refuſed to goe leige Embaſſadour to Rome.

He

He was twice like to be murthered.

Hee was nominated for a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, to Philip *the fourth.*

In the entry of the Kings service he found many difficulties.

He was accused by the King.

The King tries his patience.

He left the Court a while when Philip *the third with the Prince went to* Portugall.

His Speech to the Prince, when the King was like to die.

The first Counsell hee gave the King, was to call home from exile many worthy men.

He bestowed upon his Vncle the charge of State businesse, reserving to himselfe the care of the Kings person, and charge of his house.

He left the Duke of Ossuna *his kinsman in the hands of justice, and* Don Roderigo.

He placed none of his kindred in the Kings service, but such as were worthy.

Hee bestowed the Lievetenantship of

Castile

Castile *upon an excellent man.*

He put away his servant for recommending a businesse to one of his Officers.

He quickned the Law against Riots in Spaine.

He procured the King to joyne three men of excellent abilities with him, as assistants.

Hee perswaded the King to forbeare taxing the people, and to remember well deserving men with offices, honours, and titles.

His advise to the King, when the Prince of Wales *went into* Spaine.

Pope Urbans *Letter to* Count Olivares.

The Prince of Wales *returne to* England *discontented, and the effects thereof.*

By Guzmans *care the* Spaniards *had good successe in* Brasil *and else where.*

He refuseth the Kings donative, and to transport a ship with merchandise to China.

He accepts of the stipends belonging to his Offices.

He

He provides a remedy against the delay in the promotions of Counsells.

He intercedes to the King for old officers, to be dismissed and rewarded.

He had but one onely Daughter.

The Kings answer to him, about the marriage of his Daughter.

He marries his Daughter to the Marquesse of Torall, *she was brought to bed of a dead child, and dyed her selfe.*

His care of the King in his sickneſſe.

He spent 16. *houres every day in the Kings service, reserving onely eight for himselfe.*

He advanceth the Cardinall of Tresco *to be President of* Castile *against the opinion of his friends.*

He counsels the King to cry downe the brasse-money of Spain *to halfe the worth.*

He prudently manages the businesse of the Kings Revenues.

He caused some rivers to be made navigable, and some veines of gold to be found in Spaine,

Hee counselled the King to assist the French

French with a Fleet against Rochell.

He reserved the rewards of warre bestowed upon him, to helpe deserving men in their necessities.

He was very easie to pardon injuries against himselfe, as he shewed in pardoning the man that would have pistolled him.

When offices and dignities were to be distributed, he came seldome to the counsell.

He caused a little window to be made in all places of Counsells, to make Counsellours the more wary.

He intreated the King to read the stories of his predecessours, and told him that one of them did ill in depending too much upon his Favourite.

He punished Libellers and Satyrists against the King, but not against himselfe.

He gave no audience to women, and assures maids and widdowes that few lines under their hand should prevaile more with him, then the sight of their persons.

He

He was no obstinate maintainer of his wne opinions.

His Speech to Don Francisco *of* Con-reras.

His carriage towards the Duke of As-cot, *who was sent by the Infanta, in the roubles of* Flanders *into* Spaine.

He convinced the Duke of Ascot *by hewing him the* Infanta's *Letter.*

He humbly desires the King to excuse the errour of the Duke of Ascot.

THE PORTRAIT OF THE Politick Christian Favourite.

Originally,

Drawn from some of the actions of the Lord Duke of S^t. *Lucar.*

Written to the Catholick Majestie of PHILIP *the Great, and the* 4th *of that name.*

I Write unto your *Majesty*, rather of your *Majesty*, I write of your Favourite; it is said that *Moses* spake with God in the Mount, and yet there are that believe, that he spake with an Angel: sometimes Angels are the figures of God

with us, Favourites, the figures of Angels with Princes; Princes, of God with men: that magnanimous Heroe, whose stupendious victories did not violently take away, did give; when he saw the prostrate prisoner Queen at the foot of his chariot, did value himself able to make *Alexanders* an errour in it self, glorious; which his greatnesse mounted already to so sublime a degree, did manifest.

If amongst Authors of an admired Classis, there hath been any one found that reputed a Prince praise-worthy, because he had a minister worthy of praise, how much more is your Majesties due, who hath a servant of great condition, one that you have elected and made? What glorious action shall I recount, wherein thy great Favourite, may not acknowledge you the actour: either because you have concurred with your assistance, or because you have given an influence with your grace, or have dictated, nay animated it, by your wisedome and greatnesse. In this subject (great Potentate) I will figure out your image, not the true one, but the likest; God did not disdain to see himself shaped under the semblance of a man, and worshipped, not because man can be his image,

Image, but because he made him after his Image.

Laborious it is, but it is profitable to Register the egregious performances of men in being: They wound and they heale, and where they heale they also wound: Their resounding doth awaken, reprove, stirre up, and leaves no place for sloathfulnesse, to passe the time idly away, in the laments of the time. If one man of vallue be borne, the fame of that one, produceth a thousand, for if she being fruitfull should not bring forth, the world would be now one only mans, because he being sterill, would not have produced so much as one.

The glory of those that are past, like the King of Bees, hath Majestie, and greatnesse, but hath no sting: It wounds not, it inanimats not, disanimats, if it be examined, because it hath no soule, it makes humane condition lamentable, that glory dispicable, which being neither enjoyed by the soule, nor perceived by the carcase, doth first remaine vaine with the body, and then without it vainest of all. It is an accident *will accost a* substance, *and where the substance dies, if it be, it works not.*

The Actions of Predecessours that they

may be praiſed, require no more, then to bee flouriſhingly related; it is with them as with pictures, *for it is ſufficient, if they be but maſter-like painted, no conſideration is had, whether the Actions be true, or the Pictures bee like; in aſmuch as the Acts of the Ancients are not knowne, nor the Originalls of the draughts are not ſeen; but he that writes the deeds, or drawes the picture of one that is alive, let him look for cenſure, and that from the weakeſt, ſince papers have no ſoules, and cloathes no tongues.*

Men are ſometimes without eyes; nay, though they have them, they ſee not colour, becauſe they have them not without colour. Every one judgeth of every one that writes, according to his owne affection; one ſhewes himſelf a flatterer, and another malicious. I doe profeſſe (it is true) to be infinitely oblig'd to this exalted *Heroe*, but it ſhall never be diſcovered, that I rather *ſordidly* defile, then *faithfully* ſatisfie that obligation, which as it is deriv'd from the vertue of magnanimity, will not be pai'd with the viciouſneſſe of flattery. I ſhould not much lament to incurre that blemiſh from ſuch as are his Emulours, ſo I might be quit from it in his conceit: For I hold it farre more facile, to

make

make the *Duke* bluſh, then to make them look pale, in the relating of his great Acts, I will expect more liberty from envie then from modeſtie, becauſe there is more vertue in him, then there is defect in others.

Your Majeſtie then is humbly intreated, to beare with the weakneſſe of my writings, too unequall for ſucceſſes. I grant it to bee more eaſie to ſpeake then to doe, when that which is ſpoken is to bee done; but it is peradventure eaſier to doe then to ſpeak, when a man is to tell what hath been done: *The* Drammaticke *that is repreſented in* Sceanes, *is more forcible then the* Epick, *that is read in* papers, *yet is that perſonated part much inferiour in ſpirit, to that which is ſeen, for if it have a ſoule, yet it hath not that ſoule.*

Let that comendation nevertheleſſe bee granted to theſe writtings, which is cuſtomarily given by him that loves, to the face that is pictured: For if penns be not inferiour to pencills, and words to collours, it will be acceptable to your *Majeſtie*, to behold expos'd to veiw thoſe Actions drawne, howſoever not to the life, which your *Majeſtie* hath thought worthy of your generous affections. I know right well

weſl that this Pourtrait ſhould not have been adventured upon, but by an *Appelles*, and by an *Appelles*, who drawing from all the favourites, of all Kings and great Princes, all the beauties that did adorne them, being in him united, he ſhould preſent him to the ſight of Your *Majeſtie*.

The Lord *Iaſper Guzman*, third Earle of *Olivarez*; was the ſonne of *Henry Guzman*, who was the Embaſſadour for his ſacred *Majeſtie* in *Rome*, and of the Lady *Mary Pimentelli*, a Lady of moſt worthy vallue.

If the Imaginative *faculty, be of force to imprint an impreſſion in tender and plaine conceits; and that it hath any part in the repreſenting of ſhapes to the* Formative *power, What conceit may wee preſume it to forme, or what ſhape to repreſent in that Imagination, which approved of no other diſcourſe then of that of the King, nor conceited the forming of other conceits then of his ſervice? I doe not exclude the ſervice of God, becauſe that holy Kings, intent unto Gods honour, cannot be well ſerv'd, if God be not firſt ſerv'd.*

If men would ſeek When they doe ſeek for Wives, to joyne themſelves to worth *as well as* wealth; *their rich eſtates would often-*

times

times be more hereditary, as being more ſecure from mens treachery, and leſſe ſubmitted to the inſultings of fortune, *which although it ſometimes doth hinder the working, it takes not from them the being.*

He was not borne in *Rome*, and for twelve yeares ſpace went up and downe with his Father, who was ſurrounded with troubleſome negotiations; ſometimes in *Sicely*, ſometimes in *Naples*, in both which Provinces he ſate in the throne of *Vice-Roy*.

That is not a mans Country where he was borne; but that under which hee was borne. Man was eſteemed by men of old a Tree *reverſed, becauſe as the Country of a Tree is the ſoyle wherein its roots are placed, ſo the Country of a man is that Heaven to which he is expoſed: To ſtay in ones native Country, to vindicate himſelf amongſt his owne, is to become a true Tree, and a reverſed man; ſuch as theſe are for the moſt part are like to thoſe plants, which being planted in the fatneſſe of a fertile ſoyle, doe grow bulky oftentimes, but unfruitfull: The Oaks, that are ſet and grow on the barren mountaines, brought up among ſtormes, winds, tempeſts, they feare not the impetuous furies, of the bluſtering Northerne guſts; but if they grow fat in the calmeneſſe*

of delightfull plaines, and luxuriantly increase, they are but feeble, and endure no stronger gales, then warme refreshing breaths of Zephyrus, *or else they are made leasse or blowne downe.*

He being return'd into *Spaine*, and having journied far in vertues, disposed himself to the study of the Lawes; not to defend causes, by cases of *Titus* and *Sempronius*, but ot defend States with the prudence of the Lawes Expoundors.

The Law is a Book of Politicks, *yet few Lawyers now are* Politicians: *They were that made it, but they are not that learne it; because they only learne that which is done, and not to what end it hath been done: Very few of those that know the Lawes understand them; Hee that seeks Authority without Reason, is reasonlesse. To deprive the Law of reason, is to take the soule from men and from themselves; this comes thus to passe, because that which is* Politicall, *is in many become* Mechanicall: *And whereas Law was at first, the legitimate Daughter of* Judgement; *it is now made the adopted Daughter of* Memory, *and Legists of* Rationalls *are become* Empericks.

This man was created Rector of the Vniver-

Vniversity of *Salamanca.*

Hee that could have Lyncæus *his eyes, would sometime know with little children in the cradle, that the Starrs doe prattle, and shew themselves by the matter, with the souls, if not hindred by it, for surely they are not helped; then are the influences more secure though then they be more impotent, and it may be that God would, that they have lesse force in that age, that is to predominate over their power.*

The influences of the starres are alwaies the same, but they seem not so, because the men that receive them, are not alwaies the same; the Actions of the Active search for a good disposition of the patient, that their issue may be prosperous. That starre which would make Cyrus *great, because it found him among Children made him King of Children: And certainly it was the selfe same starre, which afterwards finding him amidst the Armies, made him the King of the* Persians. *That Aspect which made the Earle in* Salamanca *the first Rector of the Vniversity, is the selfe same Constellation, that finding him in the Court of the greatest Monarch, did make him one of the Princes of the* Vniverse.

In this time died the Lord *Ieroſme* his elder Brother; ſo that he who was the

ſecond birth was now become the firſt.

The firſt borne becauſe it is given by fortune to be the firſt. The guifts of fortune are oftentimes likewiſe given them by men: This cuſtome peradventure is not in uſe to reward them, but to ſuccour them; they that are begotten laſt doe ſometimes become the valianteſt; the ſeeing them to be borne more unfortunate, is an argument to us of their valour. Who knowes whether men either by a motive of the ſoule, or by ſome other inſtigation have not known this truth, and have repaired thither with preſents of gold, where the reparations of vertue were wanting.

It is a greater good fortune to live a while a ſecond and then become a firſt, then to be borne firſt; When riches precede vertue they oftentimes hinder it, and when they follow it, they helpe it; he that is borne firſt, believes he hath roome to preſerve the ſplendor of his Progenitours with the ſplendor of his gold, as if riches were the leaven of ignorance; whence it is, that thoſe goods which in times paſt were the rewards of induſtrie, *are oftentimes now become the ſervants of* ſluggiſhneſſe; *But ſuch as are borne in the ſecond place, to quit themſelves of the outrages of fortune, caſt them-*

ſelves

selves into the Armes of toyle, so that where they cannot equall in wealth, they exceed in vertue, and make it evident that it is a fortune to many to be borne unfortunate.

At this time likewise his Father died, whereupon, hee was compelled to make a journey from Contemplation to Action.

Study is an idlenesse, and if it be a businesse, it is a businesse of idlenesse, it would be an unlawfull appetite, if it were not an act of the understanding, it weakens minds, and wearies bodies, but it is a sweet kind of losse because it is insensible; to be alwaies among Books, is a dying amongst the living, and a living among the dead, or indeed it is rather a dying to all, and peradventure not a living to ones self; The Common-wealths of old time, did repute it most pernicious to place a reputation, upon any other indeavours, then upon imployments of vallour; for they did know, that to withdraw the understanding from the effeminateness of Sciences, it was most necessary, that as they were without fruit, so to make them without glory. All worldly men aspire unto glory, if they be not foolish, and now that glory consists as well in knowing as in doing, and all men are apter to contemplation then to action; most men runne that course to which they are most inclinable,

inclinable, and it may be all men would runne it, if nature which hath made youth unable for operation, did not mak it likewise discrepant from ſtudy. He that to avoid the title of ſtupid, entitles it laborious; either I deceive my ſelf, or he deceives himſelf, or elſe he will deceive. Study is a delight, and when it is not a delight, it is no labour, but is a paſſion, that doth trouble, but not moleſt, becauſe it is but little in the matter, and doth not diſſolve the continuation.

Hee went to the Court, and thither went he Learned, he went not thither ignorant.

The Court is not a Grammer Schoole, it gives not the firſt Aliments, *nor doth it teach the firſt* Elements: *the food of it is not milke, it ſeldome produceth, it refines; to ſtudy, and to ſerve well are incompatible, but yet to ſerve well it is neceſſary to have ſtudied.*

Princes are oftentimes in a great dearth of Wiſe men, becauſe they make them not, and many would make themſelves ſo, if ſtudy would render them as meritorious, as ſervice, but in regard, that as ſoone as they begin to ſerve they merit, and not as ſoone as they begin to ſtudy; Men for the moſt part dedicate that youth to the Prince, which they ſhould have diſpoſed to Learnings; Whereupon it comes to paſſe,

passe, that their merrit is at the last numbred by yeares, *and not weighed by* actions, *and they are sometimes in the number of yeares, outvied by some piece of* Arras, *that was there before them.*

There was offered him an Embassage to *Rome*, with an assurance, that he should afterward obtaine the honour of *Grandee*, a title merited by his Father, but denyed him by death; but the Earle knowing that to bee a *Leiger Embassadour* was but an *incloſure*, would not accept of it, not being able to obtaine that greatneſſe, that ſhould have advanced him.

It is not the property of man to ſtand ſtill, he is under a world, he is alwaies moveable, and he himſelf is a moveable world; when he goeth not forward, he returnes backward, if not to where he was, yet to where his deſire was. He is a traveller and journies on to felicity, he ſeekes it and finds it not, nor can he be quiet till he hath found it, nor can hee find it, till he be dead; motion is ſo naturall to man, that if he cannot advance, becauſe he cannot ſtand ſtill he returnes; not that felicities are tedious to him, but becauſe he hath not found them; and being unable to proceed in their ſearch, he feares he hath out-gone them.

The

The waters which naturally descends, if it meet with a resistance, because it cannot stay, ascends, and hopes that motion will convey it, to its end, for rather then to imbrace a stilnesse that is out of its nature, it moves against its nature.

Although the Earle gave not an occasion of offence to any, he ranne notwithstanding the danger of death; one time by foure Murtherers that waited, way-led him, at the going into his house; another time, by three of the same dispositon, that did follow his Coach, when he was in it, all alone; yet was he alwaies fortunately delivered, he not being aware of the perill.

Those men are thinly served that enjoy an immaculate fortune, because those Starrs *are very rare, that have an unmix't Ray. The greatest, and most benigne Aspects of the Firmament, are not without their petty violence, whereupon it falls out that such as are most fortunate, have not an unperplexed felicity. Fortune cannot be sincere, in a World, that hath not an Element which is pure, nor a thing that is not mixt; Though I know not what of molestation, which is never wanting to the greatest fortunes, is borne of I know not what of* Malignity, *that is alwaies found*

in

in the greatest Starrs.

Occasion was offered to settle a Court for *Phillip* the fourth the great, in regard of a marriage with *France*, and then was the Earle nominated for a Gentleman of his Chamber.

He that in those times had the mannageing of the Monarchy (with all respect be it spoken) either did not care to eternize the favour he had, or did not know the vallue of the Earle, in closing of him to the Prince; to surround him with contraries was idle, the worth that is accompanied with Prudence, can by no contrary be extinguished but by death. It would have been better to have sent him farre off from the Court, placing him in some Government, which is an honourable, and ordinary exile of unfortunate worthy men; no inkling of their Actions, although very great, doth ever come to the Prince; for distance thawes them, and if they doe arrive to his eare, they are brought by the Favourites meanes, and so doe seem rather his that brought them, then his that performed them.

Worth is a Ray *that cannot be hid, if it be not extinguished, nay rather it is a* Sunne, *which alwaies shines where it is; Though*

some

some black cloudes oppose it, it gives light, for such oppositions have not so much obscurity, as that hath splendor; either the breath of the Prince doth disperse them, or his Ray consumes them, that it may clearely appeare; but when the Sunne is farre off, when it is out of our Hemisphere, *it shines not, or if it shine a little, that Ray is not known for his, which strikes not in a strait line, but reflects.*

The Earle being entred into the service of the *Prince*, did find himself among a world of contraries, that did stirre up his Lord against him.

The life of man is a warfare, so that hee which fights not, or stands not ready to fight, either lives not or lives ill. Contraries that surround us, if they be not stifled, they encrease, and they are not stifled, if they be not met with in the cradle. The heat that is little to maintain it self, stands in need of the like to maintaine it, but *great heate doth increase most, when the contrary doth most struggle with it. That power of* Antiperistasis, *which is granted to the Elements, is not to be denied to men.*

Amongst other disgraces the Prince did one day tell the Earle, that he was reputed a *greevance*; and he did humbly beseech him, that

that when he could destroy him, he would not doe it, in the presence of his enemies.

Agesilaus, *being taken by an Embassadour, riding upon a stick in the midst of his boyes, intreated him not to tell it to any that had no Children, lest of a tender, he should be reputed a weake Father.*

The Earle is mortified by the Prince, and intreats him not to tell it to any he doth not love, for they would have believed, that affectionate patience stupid, and that loving soule servile.

He doth not labour to know the occasion, nor doth he perswade his Master with reason, *because it is not the braine that loves but the heart; his Arguments are affection, his affection love*; nor is the disgust likewise of not being belov'd, without the thirst of the lovers: If we take pleasure to be beloved, when we are most beloved, wee take most pleasure; nay when we are hated, if we love, we love most. It may be too that the present is not beloved, or that at the least there is hope in the future: And that not being beloved which makes him hope, makes him likewise merit: He that loves, hath the gaine of love for his end, and love for his meanes; so that, he then that hath loved most

moſt deſerves moſt to be beloved.

When I ſpeake of love, I ſpeake of a vertuous not a venereall love: But yet to ſpeak truth, they are but a little unlike; for both of them have their radication in the ſoule: If the laſcivious be tranſmitted into the body, it is by accident; *and like the Sunne, which defuſeth its light where his Globe is not*, otherwiſe violences would pacifie lovers.

The Earle did know that the words of the *Prince* were dictated, not ſaid, and that howſo're the voice did fell him, the eye did raiſe him; ſo that hee did not remaine without conſolation, nor did the Prince leave him without love. The Favourites of that time were then aware they had erred, they did ſeek to amend their amiſſe, by endeavouring to bring in the Earle, into the ſervice of the King; but he would not leave the riſing Sunne, for the ſetting.

It is a great good fortune to find a Prince diſingaged; to take away a place from one that hath uſed it with vertue is hard, with wiſedome is blame worthy, and is generally reputed malicious, but he that comes into a vacancie, doth eaſily get in: No machination could batter downe this wall; they make the

the Prince try his patience, and he by suffering augments his merits: They tempt him with honours, and he by refusing justifies his affection. Finally, *when they perceive, that they are not able to trample upon the ruines of this great man, they endeavour to surmount his heights, and to top them they lay hold upon the ladder of his affection, but all in vaine, for that Wall was built too high, to serve for a Basis.*

The Earle did remaine in this instability, untill there fell a division amongst the Favourites of those times.

There is a Politician that affirmes, that power and concord can hardly be found in the same place; and he saies it in a time, when he pretends to have found it. He did not observe peradventure, that such as did appear most powerfull were not so, except it were they that were neareſt allied, and the neareſt of bloud of the veines, not of the Arteries. The self same Authour, did likewise another time in the processe of his writings, light upon two, that were equally, powerfull and concordant; and this did not proceed from the morality of that one, because he that could not moderate the base affections of riches, it is not to be believed, that he could

could temper the urgent provocations of domination, and it was leſſe occaſioned by the diverſity of their profeſſions, the one being wholly intent to policy, and the other to warre. If a Favourite will not exerciſe Warre in his owne perſon, he may make it be exerciſed, and hath roome enough to divide charges, without dividing his owne Favour. I beare within reaſon, the being Favourites of a Tyrant, for when peradventure he did not love them, he did reverence them; there can be no diſcourſe, that can ſet downe a ſecure manner of carrying ones ſelf with ſuch men, who although they have, doe not uſe it, but to become worſe then other men. Theſe did feare falling, now one, and now another trembled, that he that ſtood faſt, upheld his ſtaggering companion, and hardly did the one fall, that he drew not the other to the precipice: *A ſpotleſſe Favourite admits of no companion, but he makes him his enemy; he that deſires one, ſeemes to deſire aid againſt he barbarouſneſſe of the* Prince, *and ſeemes to accuſe him for a Tyrant.* It is true that the inability of a man, in the mannaging of great undertakings, would require company, but *ambition will not brooke it*, he hath recourſe to the dependencies

Fea

Feare indeed admits it, becauſe he hath not the grace of the Prince, may be releeved in the burdens, but not in the dangers.

Phillip the third went into *Portugall*, and the *Prince* with him, the Earle took this occaſion to attend the affaires of his owne family, but long he ſtayed not, for he neceſſarily was to returne to the Court.

Tyberius did judge it ſo dangerous an hazard to be farre away from the *Prince*, that hee conceiv'd it well done, when hee could not waite upon the body to waite upon the carcaſſe; he would have them beeneer then likewiſe when the *Prince* was not: But the Earle fear'd no diſtance of place; The love that the *Prince* bare him was become nature. They that ſay, habit is like nature are deceive'd, it is not a *Coppy*, it is an *Originall*, it is called another nature, not becauſe it is not nature, but becauſe it was not, it is borne with us, if not with us, in us: The Art that is believ'd to imitate nature, doth imitate it, and after likewiſe doth often times produce it, and often times ſurpaſſe it. *That love which is in Habits, receives no Detriment by a little diſtance, but it rather excites it to operation*; becauſe that habit which is neceſſarily produced by actions doth

doth not neceſſarily produce actions. The ſubject whoſe abilities are of great importance to his *Prince*, cannot be abſent for a ſmall time, but it redounds to his great pro-
„ fit. A reſt that is interpoſed in the com-
„ poſition of Muſick, if it be alone, doth in-
„ creaſe the delight, but if it hath company deſtroyes it; the eare is in expectation of the following harmony, and when it comes quickly, embraceth it, but if it ſtay long, it diſlikes it; the expectation that is ſhort, inflames the deſire, and deſire, love; but that which is long doth weary the deſire, and makes love be laid downe, and he that once laies downe his love, takes it not up againe; *love is a kind of ſlavery, that is ſweet, when it is not knowne, and it is not knowne when it is not free*: It is good to make the loſſe of a preſence to appeare, but it is not good to be ſo long abſent, as that it be provided for; For in ſuch a caſe, though a man may retaine the reputation of *profitable*, yet may he
„ looſe the opinion of *neceſſary*: He that
„ would have it believed, that nothing can
„ be done without him, muſt not give time,
„ that it may be done.

Phillip the third, being ſick to death; the precedent day to the day of his death; the Earle

Earle in this sort spake to the *Prince.*

With bended knee I beg of Your *Highnesse,* to grant me the liberty to goe to *Sivill,* and for so much time at the least, to leave the Court, untill Your Highnesse enter into possession, both of Your Kingdome and Officers, which at this time governe.

To whom the *Prince* answered. My Fathers sickneſſe is at height enough, and if it pleaſe God to punish me with his death, I cannot trust any, more then you, in the new and troublesome Government; because I am confident of your affection and abilities. The King dyed, the Prince succeeded in the Kingdome, and the Earle held the possession of his favour.

There was a Prince and peradventure the wiſeſt of any, who comming to the succession of the Empire, made a shew of not desiring it, and the Earle who without peradventure is the wiſeſt of Favourites that ever was borne, doth make a shew to refuse the favour that was presented him; the one „ had a purpose to sift the mind of the Se„ nate, the other to find out the heart of his „ King.

This was the greateſt testimony of temper and moderation, that it was possible for the

the Earle to manifeſt; not in that he had the heart to refuſe a Kingly favour, but becauſe he had the braine to diſcourſe it.

How is it poſſible, that any man, that is not this man, ſeeing himſelf arrived to one of the greateſt fortunes of the world, could be able to ſtruggle himſelf, out of the hands of joy, to caſt himſelf into the pawes of diſcourſe. · *D*iſcourſe requires, quiet, order'd, „ and reſtreined ſpirits, whereas joy, like the „ wind breaths in the center of a man, and „ ſends forth ſpirits to the circumference, „ dilating, troubling, and confounding them.

The firſt of the counſells that the Earle gave his *Majeſtie*, was to call out of Exile many of his ſubjects, of approved worth, of which was Doctor *Pietro* of *Toledo*, Marqueſſe of *Villa-Franca*, and one of the Councell of State.

To repeale from baniſhment, ſuch as are men of worth, is an act of ſo worthy fame, that *Agrippina* the wife, being ſcarce entred into the power of ruling, did think ſhee did aboliſh a multitude of faults, by her calling home *Seneca* out of baniſhment.

If worthy men demerit, the qualities merit: *It is ill, when for the mans ſake ver-*

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tues are banished; but it is worse, when for his vertues sake the man is exil'd. In punishing there is something of pardoning to be considered for worth; *for justice should be injustice, should her ballances equal a pound of gold to a pound of durt, for having equall weight.* The people have worth in great esteem, and it is true too, that they have punish'd it, but it was only when they fear'd it. In Monarchy, where they doe not feare it, they applaud it; and when they see a man of worth is punished, they grieve as if his worth, and not his errors suffer'd. In jealous Common-wealths, and unsecured Principalities, he deserves great punishment when he doth ill, who did deserve a great reward when he did well, because they cannot run a greater hazard, then when the best becomes worst. A Tyrannous government, hates and fears worthy men: A popular arrives not to so much corruption as to hate them, it only feares them, but neither the one, nor the other doth enjoy them; in as much, as envy neither ascends, nor descends. *It is only an* Aristocracy, *that envies, feares, and hates them*: And sometimes when they doe not feare them, they make as if they did: It would defend it self with the buckler of weakness, from the blemish of malice. Worth is in the most happie Estate,

under firme, and confirm'd Principalities: If, where the Princes are not Tyrants, there ſhould not oftentimes be Favourites; they doe not feare the loſſe of their governments, but Favourites feare the loſſe of their favour; *They cannot be Tyrants over others, if they be not firſt ſo over their Princes.* Whereupon it comes to paſſe, that Princes oftentimes, of an upright intention, have without tyranizing, tyranized, becauſe they were tyranized upon.

He devided the Kingdome in two parts, beſtowing upon *Don Baltazar* of *Zuniga* his *Uncle*, the charge of the Conſultations, and buſineſſe of State, and reſerved to himſelf, the charge of the houſe, and the care of the Kings perſon.

The He, that is greateſt in Councell, is not therfore the greateſt in favour. Favour is not the Daughter of the Intereſt of State, but of the affection of the mind; the one makes a man reſpected, the other makes him beloved: To arrive to the one inſtructions may be laid downe, but none can come to the other, that is not borne to it; this confuſed diſtinction *Tacitus* did ſee, but he did not underſtand it, or I underſtand not him. He makes a queſtion whether the favour of

a Prince come by destiny of birth, or indeed by the Counsells of our Prudence; I say it comes from both: The one hath all the part in that favour which makes us be loved, the other hath a great part in that which makes us deare. When a Favourite doth every thing it brings forth hatred, when nothing is done without him, it brings forth the same effect; Though that hatred be removed; the one is impossible, the other is necessary: *The first mover, moves only it self, and all the other Heavens doe follow it; When they doe not follow it, nor move with it, they move by it.* I undoubtedly hold that there is not any motion in Heaven, howsoever contrary to the *primum mobile*, that doth not depend upon that first motion, and that if that should stand still, all the rest would be at a stay; nor let any man tell me, that the *primum mobile*, cannot occasion a contrary motion, in as much as we see, that man with all other creatures, by that power, which they have from the *first mover*, doe oftentimes move, against the *first mover*. Who hath believed, that the motion from the West, to the East, is the proper motion of the Sunne? and that therefore *Josuah* spake not properly, (if I understand) but hath spoken improperly.

Where the intereſt of his King is in debate, and the right of juſtice, he hath no parents, nor he knowes no friends, becauſe the King is his cheifeſt Parent, and his greateſt friend; and therefore although he were able by that way of his power, to have ſuccoured *Don Pietro* of *Giron*, Duke of *Oſſuna*, his Kinsman, yet did he leave him in the hands of juſtice, where he died in priſon. And although he could have ſet at liberty *Don Roderigo* of *Calderon* yet he did it not, but did only manifeſt his friendſhip, to his poſterity.

The Prince like the Sunne, is the Father of all his ſubjects, if not univocall, equivocall, if not as a particular man, as an univerſall; but he cannot be a Father if his ſubjects be not ſonnes, and love him not more then a Father. The *paternity* of a man hath *bloud* for the foundation, the *paternity* of a Prince, *love*; this is to be greateſt when it is moſt neceſſary, and it is moſt neceſſary where it conſtitutes, where it followes, and doth not alwaies follow. Hee that loves not the Prince, more then he loves others, becauſe he renounceth his *ſonſhip*, he deſires that *paternity* be denyed unto him, and that the King of a *Father* doe become a *Lord*, that he of a

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sonne may become a *servant*. He that could constitute a Principality like this, wherein the subjects should be more zealous for their Princes good then their owne; it would bee needlesse for him to prohibit *a proprium*. Mine and thine, which forme the particular, destroy the publike, if the particular be not turn'd into the publike. A wise man knew that necessaty well, and therefore in his Common-wealth, he took away all kindred of bloud, and knowledge of goods; hee did not then offend in *knowing* the errour, but in the *correcting* it, he took all the occasions of vertue away, putting man into the hands of *necessity*, and whereas he ought to have had recourse for a remedy, to establish the civill Lawes; he hasted to destroy the naturall, and would rather desire a not *desiderable*, then seek for that which he thought *impossible*. In the correcting of great errours, there are alwaies as it were great ones committed, yea, and sometimes greater, but they doe not oftentimes seem so, because they are believed necessary, and sometimes they are not, because they are profitable; *extreame mischeifes, call for extreame remedies, yet extreames are never good, but in comparison of worse.*

He did not place his kindred, but such

as were worthy in the ſervice of the King, nay rather he took away the Lieutenancy of *Caſtile*, from a good ſubject, who for the names ſake of his mariage, would have been to him moſt faithfull, and gave it to an excellent man, that had no kind of relation to him; and one who did undergoe a kinde of reluctation to accept it, being unwilling to relinquiſh that ſweetneſſe of repoſe, to which he had retired himſelf.

It is a thing blame worthy in Princes, to ſuffer worth to be retired, for it is a ſigne, that either they doe not know it, or that they hate it. If they ſend them not into exile, yet there they leave them, and to leave them there, and to ſend them thither, is all one. *When cattle come home to their hovells before night, it is a ſigne of a tempeſt.* Men doe it, not that they may doe ill, (for vertue is a beame of divinity that doth no ill) but becauſe they are deprived of that good, that hinders the doing of ill: It is not only to be blamed in Princes, that they ſuffer worthy men to bee retired, but it is likewiſe a fault in the men that they are willing to be ſo. *Hee that ſerves not his Prince, and knowes how to ſerve him, is worthy of a ſeverer puniſhment, then he that ſerves him ill, not knowing how to ſerve.*

serve. A *negative* occasion concurres as well to losse as a *positive*, when it is oblig'd to hinder it; nay the obligation hath a power to make the *negative* become *positive*: Retiring is only granted as a reward to such as have wrought: *He that retires himself and hath done nothing, will have his reward, before his merit*; but he is mightily deceiv'd, in as much as this, which is reputed a plentifull recompence to men that have done enough, is certainly an excessive punishment to such as have been idle. *The Quiet which followes motion is the Rest of the moveable, that which preceeds motion is the Wearinesse of the mover. He that is alwaies in motion is without a body, he that is never in motion is without a soule.* There is a strife in man between the soule and the body, the body is of its owne nature immoveable, and would not stirre; the soule which is the beginning of motion, would move the body, that it might perswade it to motion, it doth promise it felicity, it is sometimes perswaded and consents, but after that the soule with the body is conducted, to whither it is able to be conducted, without lighting upon felicity; hopelesse now to find it in motion, is likewise peradventure perswaded by the body, to find it in

reſt, and ſo deceived, ſuffers it ſelf to bee brought to reſt, whether it voluntary goes either deſperate or undeceived. It is a great deceit to believe to be able to be quiet and live; it is not true that reſt is a reward, but it is alwaies a moſt inſupportable paine to him that hath laboured moſt, the world affords not quiet, he makes a journey to folly, that goes about to ſeek it, and he is come to his journeyes end, that believes hee hath found it. *A man may indeed reſt, and yet not be at quiet, nay for the moſt part, he is moſt unquiet when he is moſt at reſt.*

The Lord *Duke* found the ſervice of the King, puddled by his ſervants, and not being able to reſiſt what was paſt, he made good orders to provide for what was to come, among the which the example of his owne cleare proceeding was not the leaſt, which was confeſt and admir'd by all, yea by ſuch as could not abide him.

Gold doth blunt the edge of the ſword, and weighs downe the ballance of juſtice; *He that ſells juſtice, ſells his* Prince, *when he can find a Chapman.* The gold that holds not out at the *teſt*, was falſe and did deceive; the *man* that holds not out *againſt gold*, doth cozen.

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Some Princes have given money enough to their seruants, that they should not sell themselves, nor sell them; but *that hunger which is not naturall, but sickly, admits not of satiety:* That hunger is not in the man, it is in the gold, so that who so increaseth that body, increaseth its hunger; there is no cure for it, but to make them loose the love of it, and that cannot be made to be lost, if the Favourite be not the first that looseth it: *The power of example is greater then that of the Law,* because it hath no power; the Law works with *violence,* example operates with *love;* the one raiseth desire and produceth *affection*; the other without raising the desire, produceth *feare*; if the Favourite be not to be sold, then is he above all price, but the most part of them that bagg up money, heap it up to buy the Favourite.

The Lord *Duke* hath not a Favourite, nor knowes he what friendship is, or Parentage, when the businesse of the King is in agitation: His servants have no power with him, they intrude not into businesse, they falter not; There may be a *Symon* like him that *Lucian* speaks of, that may have served a long time, as a helper to Audiences, but did never advance so farre, as that *Symon* did,

to raiſe a family of the *Symoniades*, but rather when he came to know, that one of his ſervants had recommended a buſineſſe to one of his Officers, he put away the recommender, and took away the love recommended from him that had it.

That Prince which loves his ſubject, gives him Principality, that ſubject that returnes love to his Lord, gives it him againe; but the ſubject, that loves another, takes it from him, is rebellious, making him, whom hee loves, Prince, if not of others, yet of himſelf, and is ungratefull, though profitable, though faithfull, though he love him.

Theſe are the obligations of a ſubject, but it is the obligation of a Favourite, that is more beloved then others, to be carefull that he love more then others, and more then he loves any other.

It would be an eaſie matter for Favourites to reforme the Pallace of a King, if it were not a hard thing to order his owne houſe; for the firſt is not reformed, if this be not firſt put in order. *All the lines of a Favourite, yea thoſe that reach from his owne houſe, are to have, but one only centre, and that is, the Pallace of the Prince*; He that raiſeth to greatneſſe, to Offices, to Honours, his ſervants,

servants, kindred, or friends, doth make his owne house the *Centre*, and the Kings house the *Circumference*. It is a rule among Favourites, to advance seruants, kindred and friends, that they may have many supports to uphold them; but it may be, that that is no good rule, and without all question it is no good signe, that favour hath no good foundation, that is not fixt upon its owne worth; *a Wall that hath a firme bottome, hath no need of a Buttresse*, if ruine doe not threat it, and then assistants of that necessity, doe rather thrust downe, then uphold favour, in as much as, they never leane to it, but they crow'd it. *The Hunter should vainely toyle himself, to overthrow the Elephant, if hee would not leane against something*; but hee doth leane to uphold himself, and often falls, because he leaned: Even so the Favourites of a Favourite, serve him as little for a support; but indeed it is he, that is of use to them for an upholder, and they doe sometime beare so much upon him, that they lay him along. The Favourite is vigilant not to offend the Prince, because he hath none neare to defend him; but his Favourites are bold, feareles of loosing the favour they have not; and hope to be protected by the favour they have,

have; whereupon it comes to paſſe, that the Prince oftentimes moleſted, is compel'd to puniſh them, and then finding his Favourite in the crow'd, in the overthrow of them he is deſtroyed.

The Lord *Duke*, having made a diſcovery, that *Riot*, was the ruine of *Spaine*; hee gave life to the Law by practiſe, but he moſt of all quickned it by the example of the King, and of the Court, a courſe in admirable reputation, in the times of *Veſpaſian*, and ſo celebrated by Authors of venerable Authority.

The practicall law was ſhewen to *Tyberius*, but he would none of it; wherein, if he did not diſſemble, hee ſhew'd great weakneſſe, to conceale great wiſdome; he made it believ'd that hee conceiv'd it odious, and it was in a Prince peradventure that was reputed a Tyrant; who knowes whether indeed he did not think it hurtfull, and that he did ſerve his turne with the defects of impoſſible, to hide thoſe of his will.

The lawes of Tyrants, are ſuſpected ſnares to puniſh, not advertiſements for correction. The ends of Tyrants are to impoveriſh, and they are accuſtomed to propound occaſions, for conſuming of Patrimonies, then to give

give inſtructions, for the procuring of wealth. It may be *Tacitus* relliſhed not my reaſon, becauſe he thought it not a good one, and to ſpeak truth it is not a good one. Store of money can procure particular friends, by the mediation of guifts: The purſes of Favourites cannot raiſe Armies, but that which is ſpent can purchaſe a generall applauſe. The common people love to ſee magnificence, for they know by nature, that *the vertue of magnanimity, conſiſts in glorious actions*; though they *winke*, they are not *blind*, though they ſee not the Sunne as it is, yet they ſee where it is. Princes doe more often deceive themſelves in applauding riches, then the people doe; *For Princes doe ſometimes honour them moſt, that have moſt, the people them only that employ moſt*; they hate covetouſneſſe, and extoll bounty, becauſe they hope to have ſome benefit by that which is ſpent, but dreame not of getting that which is hoarded: The people that are the dreggs of the Commons, are not ſo ignorant as many would make them; they alwaies have an eye upon vertue, and though they be not ſo foreſeeing as Princes, and leſſe underſtanding then the Nobility, yet have they leſſe feares of the one, and leſſe envy of the other; they

they draw not their ſwords upon vertue, nor doe they pollute it with malice; alwaies when it is great they know it, and alwaies when they know it, they extoll it, and reverence it: And therefore *a Tyrant hath more reaſon to feare money that is ſpent, then many baggs that are lockt up, becauſe it is an eaſier poſſibillity for Citizens to depoſe a* Prince *by applauſe, then by Armies.*

Don Baltazar of *Zuniga* died, and becauſe the Lord *Duke* would not take upon him the whole weight of buſineſſe, he procured the King to appoint as aſſiſtance, three men of excellent abilities, who were *Don Agoſtina Miſſia*, the Marqueſſe of *Monticlare*, and *Don Ferdinando* of *Giron*, who were to propound all buſineſſes, to the end that his Majeſtie might bee able to elect what he pleaſed, when he heard them nominated, and ſo proceed to practiſe; to which he did perſwade him with a diſintereſſed ingenuity (that which became his afforded favour) full of Learning, eloquence and love, repreſenting to his Majeſtie the duty of the beſt of Kings.

This and many ſuch like diſcourſes, which for their exquiſite politeneſſe would enable my Relation, and make the infinite worth of

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the *Duke* more famous, are not by me recounted in this preſent worke, becauſe that I having written it (I call God to witneſſe) without his conſent, I reputed it not convenient to publiſh them to view, without authority from him that performed them, but it doth me good nevertheleſſe to believe that he will one day be pleaſed that ſome more eminent pen then mine, ſhall divulge them to the world, not to defraud him of the glory, of being the firſt to informe Favourites, how to ſerve their Prince, and Princes how to governe their people.

He that ſhall write as the *Duke* did, will diſcover a knowledge of the great good inclination in his Maſter, and declare himſelf to be a faithfull Favourite.

To with hold Princes from buſineſſe, may be a laudable effect, but alwaies of a blameworthy occaſion; if *prudence* produce it, it is an ill ſigne for the *Prince*, if *ſagacity*, it it is worſe for the *Favourite*, becauſe it alwaies intimates the one *wicked*, the other *unable*.

There have been ſome that have deem'd it, an irrevocable maxime for Favourites to eſtrange Princes from all manner of buſineſſe, but it may be that they peradventure have

have thought it ought to be ſo, becauſe they have found it done ſo; they would have one *draught* ſerve to one *ſpecies* in a world, wherein nature hath not made any thing originall that is not different; to give excellent precepts to one that never was excellent, and hath too too much ſtrayed from the right, is a ſure deſtroying of him Hee is not at the firſt capable of more then of an indifferent good; he muſt be firſt *healed* and then *perfected*; there is no doubt, but that a Favourite who feares not his Prince as he ought, doth utterly ruine himſelf, if he ſuffer his manner of proceeding to be corrected, or if he let his Prince come into action. The good old man of *Chio*, ſaid, that when a Phyſitian met with a contagious diſtemper, *he was not on the ſudden to reduce it to what it ſhould be, but to what it was at the firſt*, becauſe to that then it ought to come. Nature which does help to expell a worſe diſtemper then its owne, doth reſiſt to bring in a better. It might peradventure be credible, that that Maſter would have inferred this, who did deſire a Tyrant indifferently good, not that he ſhould ſtay there, but becauſe he imagined, that he could not at the firſt be reduced to a ſuperlative, without his ruine. The

The examples of this most wise Favourite, would bee of no use to the vigilant. *Sound mens food is most dangerous for the sicke.*

Necessity of state importuning Taxes, and the *Duke* knowing how much it grieved the people, to see their contributions given away; he writ a Discourse to his Majestie, wherein he discovered the great errour, that Princes ran into that proceeding, and that there was not wanting to his Majestie, *Habits, Orders, Honours, Offices, Degrees,* and *Greatnesse,* to satisfie the merits of the Worthy, without either distasting the subject, or impoverishing the Exchequer: This counsell was the occasion, that the *King* began ro remunerate his deserving subjects, or the deservings of his subjects, with honours and dignities.

Riches are not the pay of Worth, they are the Wages of labour; he that *buyes* it *vilifies* himself, he that *sells* it, is *vile* already: The operation of worth produceth its reward, for it produceth honours, and he that hath it, can pretend nothing more, then some markes that he hath it: Of this condition are *Greatnesse, Titles, Orders, Habits,* and of this nature were the *City Crownes,* the *Collars,*

Collars, and the *Triumphs* of the Ancients. Such rewards if they grow common, give no honours, nay rather they looſe that they have, when they are beſtowed on ſuch as have it not. There was a time when rewarding did not emptie the Kings Coffers, and it was a time fertile in worthy men; *they were moſt rewarded, who were leaſt rewarded.* Honour was then a very great price, and the price of vertue only; *But when that which was a price, began to be at a price, it loſt value, and made men looſe their courages, ſo that honour and worth became both mercenary, and men luſted rather after the wealths, that bought them, then after the qualities that got them.* The originall of ſo much errour and confuſion, was derived from ſuch Princes, that were needy and poore, and thereupon gave more honour to the wealthy, then the worthy; but theſe would not have had need of riches, if they had not made them neceſſary, with taking away the reputation of worth. The *Spartans* were a while without gold, and the firſt *Romanes* if they had it, did not adore it: *States* have many times encreaſed with *money*, but never without *valour*. It may be it did not concerne Kings to keep it in credit, ſuch are not the moſt

valarous

valarous but the richeſt, they have given reputation, to what they alwaies have, to aſſure them of that, which ſometimes they have not.

The Prince of *Wales* went into *Spaine*, to get the *Infanta Maria* to wife, and for ſome other reſpects of the Palatine his Brother in law. When the Lord *Duke* ſtood firme upon this reſolution, that when the King of *England* ſhould in his Kingdome, grant all that in favour of the Catholike Religion, without which there was no probability of a match; that then the Catholike Nation ſhould accord to all that, that the conveniency of State required, nor would he ever depart from this Catholike vow, although he well enough underſtood, (that if the King of *England*, would not conſent to this propoſition, as he did manifeſtly declare he would not) the iſſue, that he inſiſted upon with a potent King to the enemies of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and that he did foreſee Warrs, which would more load the Favourite, then any man elſe; becauſe they take from him the commodity of enjoying the degree that he doth poſſeſſe, and oppreſſe him with turmoyles, cares, and neceſſities, that attend them.

This Counſell was the counſell of the *Duke*,

Duke, and the counſell and the *Duke* are worthy of the higheſt praiſe, hath no need of my pen. I doe here lye downe, with all reverence and humility, at the feet of Pope *Urban*, our Lord, and as I have been confident to be able ſecurely to goe on in the way of commendations of the *Duke*, enlightned by his great ſplendour, which in many things cannot erre, and in thoſe he can, he will not. So likewiſe have I been willing to participate the Ray of it to others, to ſtrengthen their ſight that ſee, and to illuminate them that ſee not, and confound them that will not ſee. Then did his holineſſe write a Letter to the Lord *Duke*, the contents whereof tranſlated into *Italian*, ſounds, as you here may heare.

To the beloved Sonne and Noble Lord, the Earle of OLIVAREZ.

Urban the Pope 8.

NOBLE Lord and beloved Sonne, health and Apoſtolicall benediction: The Common report of the Monarchie of Spaine,

Spaine, *drives such an applause to the Counsells of your Nobility, that, that serves for Authority to your person, which is its felicity; in as much as fame the messenger of truth, conceales not the praises of the Lord Duke* Olivarez, *but by publishing your vertues fills all* Europe, *and comforts the Church of* Rome.

Wee truly who long before this have had notice of your Noblenesse, are hardly to expresse with what comfort of heart, wee have now heard by our beloved Sonne, Father Zachary, *a* Capuchin, *how much more you esteem a good report then riches, believing that an affection for the propagation of the Faith, is the fortification of the power of* Spaine, *and the greatest honour of the Catholike King. And hee affirmes that the Counsells of your zeale are such, that they assure the patronage of Heaven to your family, and perpetuall felicity to the Kingdomes of* Spaine; *in as much as it is published, that you have given such instructions of Christian piety in the businesse of the mariage with* England, *that forraine Princes may learne from you, with what great vertues the Chatholike Religion adornes her sonnes withall, in whom the glory of the Name of God, hath a greater sway, then the encrease of*

any

any humane power. Theſe praiſes thus confirm'd by the teſtimonie of ſo good a Prieſt, did give ſo much conſolation to the cares of our dignity, that We have been pleaſed to notifie it by our Apoſtolike Letters. Proceed on Worthy Lord, take ſuch paines, that the inſeparable Nations of the Spaniſh Empire may know, the publike Welfare, the Eccleſiaſtick Juriſdiction, and the Authority of the Noblene ſſe upon which We beſtowe Our Apoſtolicall Benediction.

From St *Peters* in *Rome*, under the Seale of the *Piſcator*, the 27th .of *Ap.* in the yeare of our *Pontificate* the firſt, and of the Lord, 1624.

Johan. Champele.

The Prince of *Wales* being but ill ſatisfied and returned into *England*, joyn'd himſelf with other of the Emulours, and enemies of the King, in the League of *Avignion*, the Articles whereof were, that the *Hollanders* ſhould ſet upon *Braſile*, that the Army of *France*, with the aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Savoy*, ſhould fall upon the State of *Genoa*, and that the King of *England*, ſhould goe with a Fleet for a deſigne upon *Caler*; that the

the King of *Denmark* with Protestant Associats, should infest the Empire, that the *Venetians* should furnish the Duke of *Savoy* with money, and the *Grizons* with money and munition, to make an inrode upon the *Valteline*; that a peace should be procured between the *Turks*, and the *Persian*, that the *Turke* might enter by the way of *Hungary*, and *Bethlem Gabor* by *Transilvania*; that the *Hollanders* should send Cannons and Cannoniers; to the *Moores* of *Affricke*, that they might beseige *Mamora* and *Larachy*. All these stormes were dispers'd, first by the breath of God, then by the prudence of the Catholike King, and by the counsell and providence of the Lord *Duke*; there was a Fleet supplied in *Brasile*, which recovered the *Sconce*, whereof the *Hollanders* were Masters, in the Bay of *All Saints*; two Armies relieved *Genoa* and the *Valteline*, the one set at large that which was at the last gaspe, the other did maintaine in the *Valteline* the Catholike Religion.

The Englishmen were expected with so furnished a preparation, that after they of *Cales* had killed some five thousand of them, the rest returned home, wearie and afflicted. The *Hollanders* did loose *Breda*. The King

of

of *Denmarke* was beaten in a battle, and betook himſelf to his trenches. The *Affricans* were repulſed from *Mamora*, and *Carachy*, with a great loſſe. After which ſucceſſes, there was a peace made, whereby the Church obtain'd great authority, the Catholike King great applauſe, and the Lord *Duke* no ſmall reputation.

When Leagues thrive, Jealouſie breakes them, When they doe not thrive, feare breakes them, but they ſeldome overcome, if they doe it not in an inſtant; they have large forces, but not long, in regard that they are for the moſt part compoſed of ordinary powers, and Warrs do quickly conſume their treaſures; but it is not ſo with Monarchs.

A League is a body of a facile corruption, it often reſolves into the firſt matter, and that abandoned, it remaines but an empty power.

Many Sciences, and Arts, have one and the ſame object, but never conſidered after one and the ſame manner, and howſoever they accord to move toward it; yet they agree not in the operation. The Tailor goes to the ſame body that the Philoſopher doth, but when hee hath cloth'd it, he leaves it, becauſe it is not ever to be cloath'd. The Phyſitian goes likewiſe

wise to the same body, and when he hath healed it, he goes his way, because it is not alwaies to be cured: The Philosopher alwaies stands fast there, because it is alwaies moveable. So in Leagues, all have power for the object, but by a diverse manner, some because they receive hurt by it, some because they feare it, some because they envie it: The first being quit from hurt, they goe away because it is not alwaies hurtfull; the second secured from feare, they goe away, because it is not alwaies fearefull; so that at the last, there remaines none but the last, which doe alwaies envie it, because it is alwaies to be envied.

The King would have given the Lord *Duke* a great Donative, and would likewise have authoriz'd him to have transported from new *Spaine* into *China*, a ship laden with marchandize; an advantage, which would have been of great commodity to him, but of an answerable damage to the inhabitants of *Spaine*: The *Duke* did accept of neither, because he would not transgresse his established rule.

I conceive this so necessary an action, and so concerning his reputation, that I should not commend it, if the ignorance of many, that have not so known it, did not proclaime

claime it admirable; The act is ſo profitatable, that he who is not perſwaded to it by prudence, is to ſuffer himſelf to be brought to it by previſion. To accept of what accepted, incurres blame, and what refuſed, merits glory, is a teſtimony either of baſeneſſe or fooliſhneſſe. Worldly men that are not of this Alloy, walke to the *Temple of glory*, but the paſſage is ſo ſteep, that they have need of a Waggon: Some have recourſe the *Chariot of worth*, and ſome to the *Cart of riches*; whereupon it comes to paſſe, that as they are to be borne withall, who ſeek them, to make themſelves glorious, ſo are they to be reprehended, who hunt after them, to make themſelves be blamed.

The Lord *Duke* forbeares not to take the ſtipends belonging to his Offices, which he perſonally performes, not applauding, that dryneſſe of the conceites of thoſe morrall men, that blame riches.

Vertue (I ſpeak now of morall vertue) doth not conſiſt in being poor, but in making ones ſelf poor. *He doth not adore but deſpiſeth money that ſpends it; he that would not be rich, is an unprofitable poor man, and a cruell fool. He that caſts riches into the ſea, is a poor vaine man, and an envious fool; He that*

that possesseth Wealth, and spends it commendably, is a rich, magnanimous, and a wise liberall man. I confesse that the despising of riches is a great vertue, but it is a greater in him, who having them *distributes* them, then in him, who having them, *throwes them away*, or not having them avoides them: These men doe not despise them, but they either feare them or envy them; in the one, appears the greatnesse of a gallant mind, in the other basenesse and vanity. *Hee that cancells riches out of a wise mans heart, doth cancell out of the Catalogue of vertues, part of magnanimity, and all liberallity; to flie the meanes that make vertue, is to fly vertue.* That morall Philosopher, that did so much blame riches, had so much as made him blame-worthy; and whereas at other times, he was wont to contradict his sayings with his sayings, in this particular he did it with his doings; and gave us to understand, that he did despise them, because he had them not; and that then they are only to be despis'd, when they may be fear'd.

The Lord *Duke*, perceiving a delay in the promotions of Counsells in the Tribunalls for a long time, occasioned about disputes of precedency, hee did cull one out of

every bench, forming thereby a Councell, by whom there might be a proviſion made againſt all the difficulties that did ariſe; which proceeding of his brought an incredible commodity to the affaires of the King.

The Generalls did take out ſome one ſouldier, out of every Company in the Armies, to make a ſquadron, calling it by the name of the *ſquadron volant*, as active, upon and in all occaſions.

Nature (if I be not deceived) hath given ſpirits to all the parts of man, that they may worke; but then taking out ſome one from every one, makes a Globe, which muſt ſpeedily relieve in buſineſſe, and interpoſe themſelves likewiſe in the offices of the other parts.

Theſe are the ſpirits that runne to the heart in feare, that flie into the face in ſhame, that helpe the vitall, and ſuccour the animall ſpirits, and that they are taken out from the ſeverall parts will clearly appear, when we ſhall obſerve, that in the vehement operations of the ſpirits, in one place, the other ſpirits doe remaine feeble and weakned.

He that is dexterous in buſineſſe, merits great praiſe, and he lengthens our life, that ſhortens

ſhortens it. Man finds a kind of luſt in it; the luxury of it are the ceremonies, the ſtrifes of precedencies, and many other like accidents; which to his diſcommodity ſurround it. It would be more needfull to make a law againſt the diſpatch of buſineſſe, then againſt ſumptuouſneſſe, feaſting and apparrell; *For the time that is loſt, is more precious then the money that is conſum'd.* It grieves a man that his life is ſhort, and yet he doth his buſineſſe, as if it were of many ages: He complaines of idleneſſe, and makes his buſineſſe ſo. Life is conſum'd in idlenſſe, and it is over-plus of life, they call it ſhort, and it is long, for that which advanceth, is more then that which operates. *Man hath a rule to mourne by nature, ſo ſoon as he is borne, he ſhould give thanks, and as ſoon as hee is borne he mournes, ; being arrived to the uſe of reaſon, he bewailes his life as calamitous, come to years forgetting that he cal'd it miſerable, he is ſorrie it is ſo ſhort: It is indeed too long, for it is a way that reacheth from the Earth to Heaven; he that deſir'd to be diſſolved, and to be with Chriſt, deſired it ſhould be ſhorter. They are to ſuppoſe it ſhort, that by miſſing their way, goe the right way to hell.*

He is a great interceſſour to the King for good Officers; if any of them come to old age, and ſo cannot ſerve, he procures them rewards as if they did ſerve, as he did to *Don Franciſco* of *Contreras*, Preſident of *Caſtile*, and many others.

Such ſervants as ſerve for reſpects, deſerve to be rewarded with their reſpects, and that their reward may end, when that ſervice is ended, becauſe the profit of the one, doth terminate with the work of the other: *But no time ſhould abridge the reward of a ſervant that ſerves for love, for though he ceaſe to ſerve, he ceaſeth not to love.* There is no remuneration more fertile, nor of leſſe bulk, then that which is beſtowed upon the decrepidneſſe of a ſervant: It fills the Court with ſervants, and empties no Exchequers; few arrive to it, few hold out to it, and all aſpire to it, becauſe, *as feare makes us doubt, that all that may come to paſſe which is not impoſſible, ſo deſire makes us hope.*

The Lord *Duke* had one only Daughter, and becauſe he had no more, he conceived it neceſſary to marry her into his ſtock, and for this purpoſe he propounded to the King, foure Subjects, that his Majeſtie might make choice of one of them; the prudent anſwer

of

of the King, worthy of the eminences of his understanding was, whatsoever shall be convenient for you, shall be acceptable to me: Be it your care to chuse, and it shall be mine to enrich him as your Sonne in Law.

Astrology is in all parts false, but falsest of all in matters of marriages, because men are not married, nor doe they marrie according to their inclinations, but for some ends, and that is the cause of the change of tempers in families, because some by-respect hath its share in marriages. It is true, they are voluntary, otherwise they were of no value, but that will, was not that which was made with us, but that which we did make. Inclinations that belong unto manners, are not alwaies to be followed, for the temper is surely exquisite, and if it be not good, they are not good; but inclinations to generation, may be prosecuted with more security, because, *the constitution ordinarily desires, either the like that conserves it, or the contrary that corrects it,*

The Lord *Dake* would not have restrained his Election (nay certainly he ought not to have done it) to his own Family, if he had not found such a man in it, as he could not peradventure have found the like, in the

whole Kingdome, and it was the Marqueſſe of *Torall*.

If it were lawfull for me to Print ſome few leaves, concerning the precepts, which the *Duke* gave to the Marqueſſe his ſonne in Law, when he did elect him, I am confident, and it is a truth, that the great ſubjects of Princes would learne more by thoſe advertiſements how to regulate and governe themſelves, then by all the Books, that I have written. His Daughter was married to this Marqueſſe, with a generall joy of all; but that cheerfulneſſe was ſoon turn'd into ſadneſſe, for when ſhe had brought forth a dead daughter, ſhe was a dead Mother.

Philoſophers do make a generation a naturall inſtinct; for ſay they, in regard that man cannot eternize himſelf in the individuall, he ſeeks to eternize himſelf in the ſpecies by children, but they are deceived, for that is not perpetuated, is ſo perpetuated, but it may be, man doth rather deſire them for his conſolation and love. *Nature to eternall us, hath not been willing that wee ſhould ſeek for childeen, from any where elſe, then from the ſoule that ſhe hath made eternall*; or if they be deſired to be loved; then are they not deſiderable by the *Duke*, who hath

hath so great a King to love, and so eminent an understanding to eternize him.

The *Duke* remained hopelesse of succession in his bloud, being without sonnes.

The desire of generation, which for the benefit of the world is to be only of the good, if it were not likewise among the bad; Cities would not be so great, and perdaventure would be better. I could be amaz'd that the Heathen Law-makers, who had no regard to Relgion, would be careless in this point, if there were not an impossibillity of resisting, such an inconvenience, without running into greater; It is a weakness to believe that they forbeare it, for the increase of the number of Cities; *Since it is the quality and not the quantity of subjects, that makes Common-wealths to be great.* The condition of the world is lamentable, for *nature as if shee were covetous, or envious, makes those plants most fruitfull, which are most unprofitable, and is rather a Mother in law, then a Mother; to such as are necessary, we should have reason to complaine us of her, had not she had it first, to complaine her of us. For sinne, that did infest the generation of man, did likewise infest the generation of the Earth.*

The death of his Daughter, made the *Duke* abandon all intention of advancing his Family, if he ever had had ſuch a purpoſe, and wholy betook himſelf to the ſervice of God and the King.

The Lord *Duke* (with pardon let me ſpeake it) did not arrive to the true *Idea* of a Favourite, when his Daughter died. He that hath Children loves them, thinks how to make them great; and *he that intends the greatneſſe of his Family, is one that love his owne reſpects, and doth not ſatisfie, the obligation of a perfect Favourite.* The love, that is the due of a Prince, conſiſts altogether of good affections; it is alone ſplendor, and infinite lights do forme it; to it hath recourſe the affections of tenderneſſe, which is toward children, and the reverence due to a Father, the cordiallneſſe, wherewith we love a friend, the naturallneſſe wherewith we love our ſelves; and he that hath another Friend, another Sonne, another Father, and who indeed is not himſelf transform'd into his Lord, is not worthy to have his heart. That the *Duke* was ſuch an one, was well diſcover'd, in the ſickneſſe that the King had, upon the firſt of *Auguſt*, in the year 1627. for he did all that was poſſible for a ſervant

to

to do that his Lord might live, and so farre as was permitted to a Christian, to dye if he dyed. And when he was advised by his friends at that time, to have some regard to the maintenance of his own health, he thrust them from him, with a furious choller.

If the King dye not, his privacy cannot dye, and indeed he cannot desire it life, if he live not; if he could have been deprived of that affection wherewith he was bound to his Prince, whom he lov'd so much, and lov'd him so much, either he was not a true Private, or would not have been: For a Favourite is call'd a Private, because he is to be Private to his will, to all his affections, to all his passions, and transformed only into the service of God and of his Lord. *They that sitt musing upon what may happen, love not their Prince, but themselves, either they have not the service of their Lord for their end, or they thinke of beyond the end, when they thinke of something after the end.* I do believe, that if the King had dyed, the *Duke* had dyed with him, and if not dyed in the world, yet to the world.

The *Duke* perceiving, that God would forme in him a servant, without affection,

only

onely destinated to the service of his King, did embrace it with all his soule, and all his body, digesting in his brain the Chaos of the whole Monarchy, wherein he spent sixteen houres of the day, reserving to himselfe, but only eight, for his sleep, his nourishment and his own businesse.

The body of man consists of many parts, the body of a Monarchy, of many affaires; both which are divers; I was about to say contrary, but in the whole man, and the whole monarchy, there is one and the same consent & conspiracy: *A thousand Artificers concurre to the building of an house. A house as I may say doth consist of Wood, of Iron, of thornes, of lyme, of Sand, but it is not enough, that all the materials be together that build it, to make it a house, nay that every piece by it selfe, were in its due order, yet would this gathering together be nothing more then a confusion; but here is required an Architect, who uniting them in his understanding, doth concoct, and regenerate them, who raising the forme from the parts, may produce that from the mixture, that it may not be stone alone, nor lyme alone, or onely Wood or onely Iron, nor all these things together, but an house, which doth consist in a certaine harmony, that is the soule of these things,*

that

that have no soule, even so (as I take it) is the Chaos of a Monarchy, in the forming and upholding whereof, there is a concurrence of infinite Officers, and howsoever each of them might operate well enough, in his peculinr office, yet would it for all that be but a confusion, if there were not, one onely Architect, by whose direction should be ordered and disposed; All the particulars, which otherwise would loose the proper forme, and onely have part of the All.

Man consists of soule and body, but the soule and the body do not make a man, but *it is necessary, that there be an Vnion, which though it seeme nothing, is a reall Entitye:* It seems as it were a prejudice to a Monarchy, which intimates one, that the first influences of it are received in more; as it, that it did produce, that more before the one, whereas it should produce, first the One, because from that One, and from him which are more, the more is produced.

Who so will know, the sincerity and goodnesse of the Duke, let him consider how he did advance the Cardinall of *Tresco* to be President of *Castile*, although his friends perswaded the contrary, conceiving that he would run into some danger, by the Electi-

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on, the Cardinall being the Creature of the Duke of *Lerma*, and of the Marqueſſe of the *Seven* Churches, the one being falne from being a Favourite, & the other put to death, in the time of the Duke; his well-willers did inſiſt upon it, that there being no want of perſons for ſo principall a place, it was lawfull for him to have reſpect to his own fafety, when he might do it, without dammage to the Kings ſervice.

The groſſe matter that makes the bow of policy, doth not bend ſometimes, and the thin doth ſometimes breake; the way of the one is broader, but is longer, it ſeemes more ſecure, becauſe if it precipitate, it doth it leiſurely, if it arrive, it arrives likewiſe ſlowly; the other is ſhorter but it is ſlippery, and ſometimes precipitates ſpeedily, and ſo likewiſe, comes ſometimes to the end, this cannot be learned in bookes, it requires many circumſtances, and who ſo wants one of them, wants a foot, if he ſlip, he falls: He that will performe it, muſt neceſſarily know, how to produce it of himſelfe, becauſe it requires a great power of the underſtanding, and a great ſtrength of knowledge, of how much, is to be done, and when it is to be done. There is a rule in policy, that men

cannot

cannot be brought into (howsoever otherwise very able) if they be not dependants; it is a grosse kind of policy, which avoids present danger; but not blame, and that puts the future into a peradventure, if it happen, that a businesse shipwrack, which hath been taken out of the hand of some able man, to give it to a dependant, although fortune have all the share in it, yet is it given to Election, and the losse of credit & sometimes of favour is the consequent.

There is another rule, which able men may come to, though they be not dependants, or friends, and this is a subtile policy, which assures against dangers, and produceth praise, but it requires a great eye to see it, and a greater to manage it.

When he is not our friend, that is friend to another, that is not our friend, his not loving us is not to be hated, for where he loves not, he loves not because he loves; his not being a friend is accessory in him, he followeth the nature of the Principal; So soon as the one ceaseth to be, the other gives over loving, but where there is enmity, & enmity proceeds from a bad nature, it ought not to be benefitted with losse, and it may be given over without shame, because the malignity which would

would put the benefit in danger doth ſecure from blame, it is very odious to all, it brings not forth worth but deſtroyes it, it would be likewiſe avoided of all, if it were not that *many ſeeke rather to beate downe then to build.*

Spaine which did enrich other Provinces with gold and ſilver, was grown ſo meanely poore, by the diſorderly value of braſſe money, that trading was now in part given over among the Provincials, and wholly left of by ſtrangers; which was occaſioned, not by the moneys coyn'd by the King, but by a maſſe of falſe money brought in by Enemies; when the Duke reſolutely (though reſiſted with great obſtinacy, by the moſt part of the Officers) did councell the King, to cry it down, to halfe the worth, which put in practice to the benefit of the people made them haſten to erect a ſtatue, to the providence of their moſt loving Soveraigne, not without honourable mention of the Lord Duke.

The profit of the Prince in ſuch an errour, holds no proportion with the loſſe of the ſubject, it hinders traffick with ſtrangers, and difficults it among his home merchants, where the profit is great, there will not be wanting ſome, that will adventure to falſify

coyne,

coyne, whence it is, that afterward in the computation of the money he doth find, the loſſe greater then that which he hath made; *there was a Common-Wealth, that liv'd a long time with leather money, but their lawes did admit of no ſtrangers, ſo that here they deſtroy'd no traffique; they did tolerate no exceſſe, and by theſe two they did hinder falſification of money.* A State that could have no neceſſity of trading with ſtrangers, and a Prince that could find means to aſſure himſelfe from coyners, either in regard of ſome ſpeciall materiall, or that he could find an indiſcoverable, or inimitable forme from others, he might be able without detriment to his ſubjects, either to that matter, or that forme, or likewiſe to ſome other matter, that is far more vile then gold, give the value of gold; but becauſe ſtamps are eaſily imitated, it is neceſſary to have recourſe to ſuch a materiall as is not eaſily found, and that which is every where diſperſed, not to hinder commerce, and to be ſecured from counterfeiters.

It is by accident, that gold is of ſuch value, rare it is, becauſe it is rare; Chriſtall is likewiſe beautifull, cleare and tranſparent; *if Gold be like the Sun, Chriſtall is like the Skye,*

Skye, the brittleneſſe of it doth not villify the worth, nor take away the beauty, but rather increaſeth the reſpect; the Pearle which is more brittle then gold, and for its originall, is not more noble, being the daughter of the Moone and Water is more precious then gold; but if that Gold be like the Sun, and that the Sun be the principall Agent here below, and that the Agent endeavours alwaies to make that, which it makes like it ſelfe, why doth it make the mettall ſo ſeldome? why doth it not produce more gold then lead? It may be the Sunne is not ſo powerfull an Agent as man thinkes it is, it is hindred by the obſcure matter in which it works, it is reſiſted by the graveneſſe, and coldneſſe of the earth, againſt which it workes; for if one of theſe Agents were alwaies ſuperiour to the other, the Heavens would either have become by this time wholly Earth, or the Earth wholly Heaven, or if they ſhould be alwayes, and in every place of equall ſtrength, there would be no generation. It is therefore no wonder if gold be ſo ſcarce in the world, *becauſe it is not produced without a great victory, and that is not obtain'd without great reſiſtance,* becauſe the Earth takes great care, that the Characters of her enemy may not be produced out of her boſome.

Phillip

Phillip the fourth found his revenues at pawne, and yet though he had greater wars, and greater expences then his father, and his grandfather; the cleare proceeding and order of the Duke, hath in such sort managed the businesse of his demeanes, that the Majesty of this great King, hath been able to oppresse the Enemies of God, defend his Estates & reputation without greater impawning.

I cannot in this place dissemble the knowing of what they say, that are ill affected, whilest they accuse the prudence of the most wise Catholique King, and the Counsels of his Favourite, because some Forts are lost in *Flanders*, because they have had so many wars with *Italy* and *Germany*, as if wisedome could overcome Envy, and the occasion of jealousie be separated from greatnesse.

If *Phillip* the second, to hinder *France* only from being hereticall, may, as it were affirme that he lost *Flanders*: Why is *Phillip* the fourth to be blamed, if he did leave the Armies in *Flanders* weak, to defend the Religion, and likewise the estates of the Princes of his bloud, and that there are not rather some glorious Encomions published in his commendation, that may call

call him the disinteressed Defender of th
Faith, the Sanctuary of the unjustly persecu
ted, Tutor of of the Common-wealths, an
Princes, the alwaies magnanimous, and eve
glorious Oppressour of Hereticks? How
much treasure hath he spent, how many Ar
mies consum'd in the service of God and o
men? How many Forts hath hee taken
and most liberally restored them all again
from whom they were most unlawfully
compell'd, or from whom he himself had
justly taken them? What warre hath he en
terpriz'd that hath not been, either to de
fend Religion from such as wounded it, o
to relieve justice when it was oppress, or to
maintain his credit against such, as despise
him.

But that, which is lost in *Flanders*, is not
lost by the Kings fault, or the Favourites, in
as much as ther wanted no provision of men
or money: But it was lost, by other sufficie
ently known accidents: And in this is the
Government, of the most glorious *Philip*
the fourth, more worthy of praise, then that
of his Grand-Father; whereas the one, has
made Warr in other Provinces, without cal
ling his Armies out of *Flanders*, and the o
ther could not succour, the Catholike Faith
in

in *France*, without abandoning *Flanders*.

As little likewise is the Duke to be blamed, for the Warrs that have in these times held the *Austrian* Monarchy in a tottering condition, but rather such, as having been seditious have moued them. It is not very likely that a Favourite of a quiet braine, the birth of the favourable beames of *Jupiter* and *Venus*, doth meditate the topsy-turvy, turning of the world. *If he be as wise as a Dove, he brings an olive branch, and not a defiance of Warr: For he cannot order it, without leaving his privacy, and he can hardly make that be ordered without loosing it. Victories make a too much rumour to be concealed, they are in the view of all the World; to hinder them is With the danger of the Prince, to let them runne on, is peradventure with the danger of the Favourite; he is an able man, who in the time of Warr, looseth not his privacy, or makes not the Kingdome be lost.*

I say not, but that Favourites may be found desirous of Warrs; who like Crowes are alwaies flocking to dead bodies, but those are ordinarily, the troublesome parts of the Layes of *Mars* and *Saturne*, they wriggle themselves into favour, by pernicious, but

specious

ſpecious Counſells, whence it is, that they afterwards ſend forth thoſe ſooty humors, that they have within them, and they do puddle the waters, that they may not be a prey to ſuch as fiſh for the truth. Woe to the world when ſuch a Favourite is borne (and let us thank God, that we are none of them in our times) for he confounds it, layes it along, overturnes it, ruines it, and is ruin'd troubleſome. *Whitherſoeuer they goe, it ſeems that they encreaſe the waters, but diminiſh the Channell, becauſe they encreaſe the mud*; not goe they much thither, for they goe not thither. *Theſe* Phaetons *When they come to touch that fire of Heaven, are for the moſt part thunder ſtrook by* Jove. It is very conſiderable, that howſoever, Prudence, be that, which is neceſſary to the maintenance of privacy, yet is not alwaies the true practiſed, but for the moſt part the falſe. *There is a Prudence that hath reall good for its end, another that which ſeems ſo; the one is pure, the other puddle*, both cry men up, and both greatly exult; the one with the greater ſecurity, becauſe it is much more benigne, the other with much more mirrour, becauſe it hath more eagerneſſe. *The braines of a witty man is as a waving ſea, alwaies unquiet, it neither*

neither hath rest, nor gives rest, it destroies, or will build, or will maintain: The foundations of its height, are the ruines of others; it procures a feare in the Prince to make it self necessary; it will make him a Tyrant, and sometimes makes it self so; it is an Art which imitates Prudence, like the Artist that imitates Nature; it takes no pleasure if it doe not deceive, and is most pleased when it deceives most, leaving to be, when it leaves to cozen; it stands upon the very brink of a precipice, and because it cannot alwaies deceive, there is one time when it headlong falls. The braine of the Prudent man is placide and and loving, breathing nothing but sweetnesse, nothing but quiet, it builds up what others ruine; and if it sometimes doth destroy, it destroyes not to raise its owne house, but to uphold it: It makes the King good, by shewing him what is profitable; it makes him love, to make him be beloved. A prudent man falls not from favour, if the Prince falls not into tyranny; and if some casuall accident doth thrust him from the Mountain of Grace, hee goes but downe, hee tumbles not. Greatnesse of the Prudent, are influences from benevolent Starrs; and because they are encreased by little and little, like high Towers,

they

they are continued high, upon their owne foundations. Witty men goe high, but they grow not high, they are like balls of earth, which violently compel'd, by some compulsion, doe swiftly passe through all buildings, and when they are at the highest heights, they fall, and fall not but they break. If *Tacitus* had ascribed the fall from privacy, as well to sagacity, as he did to satiety, I would have borne with his other part of speech, where he shewes it rarely sempiternall, because it is rare for men to have prudence, and such men are most rare, which placed on high, maintain it; and he that did attribute so much to the power of domination and inchantment of obsequiousnesse, might well think all constancy fraile, all prudence fleeting.

He hath made some Rivers in *Spaine* to be made Navigable; he made some veines of gold to be found, not for covetousnesse of gaine, but to be able to diminish the griveances of the subject, without being wanting to the businesse of the Monarchy.

Gold is profitable to conserve and necessary to encrease States. Some Politicians have made it inferiour to reputation, when indeed reputation hath no other price, but the reward which gold gives it; they are deceiv'd

ceiv'd in this, because, *they sometimes see men forsake a rich Prince, to goe serve a Prince of reputation, this experience hath been true, but it came not so to passe, because reputation enticeth more then gold, but because the worth of one in reputation, gives more hope of gold, then the Exchequer of a rich man gives gold; those Souldiers are ill apaid, that are alwaies paid; and they are well pleas'd that are ill paid: the ordinary price of their lives hardly keepes them alive; Sackings, Inroades, Rapines, Victories, are the advantages that enrich the Souldiers, and they expect them most frequent, from such as they know most reputed.*

The Favourite that encreaseth the Revenues of his master doth likewise encrease the Estates of the people, one of whose great felicities is, to have the Prince rich, for when he takes not away, he gives, and when he gives he takes away, a holding Prince is more desiderable then a bountifull; Donatives enrich but few, but they empty the store, that must be restored by the impoverishnesse of all.

The most Christian King of *France* had besieged *Rochell*, and suspecting that it would have been relieved by the King of *England*, he did, by the means of the Marquesse *Ram-*

boulle, his Ambaſſadour Extraordinary, demand a Navy from *Phillip* the fourth, whereto the Councell of the *Duke* adviſing, it was conſented him; and was an Act of great honour, by delivering *France* from ſo long an oppreſſion, with ſo much commodity to the Catholike Faith.

It was thought that the *Duke* erred in reaſon of ſtate, in preferring the ſervice of God, to that of the King, but he cannot erre in the ſervice of the Catholike King, that erres not in the ſervice of God; if any impious man hath in his Inſtructions, ſeperated the reaſon of State from that of God, yet are they ſo conjoyn'd in the concernings of this King, that no diſtinction of any underſtanding can disjoyn them. God who hath manifeſted unto us his Election of this Family, for the defence of his Religion, hath not left a place, that it may be taken away by the quickneſſe of ſpirit; ſo that if ſome Officer, of ſmall or no Religion, ſhould by chance ſpring up, he could do no hurt but to himſelf with his wicked intention, finding himſelfe thruſt on, by a nimbleneſſe of ſpirit to thoſe actions, which cloathed with the zeale of God, would be laudable parts of prudence; but in the examination of reaſon of State, I conclude it

to

to be necessarily that of the Devill, when it is seperated from that of the Lord. I believe that *Lucifer* had no intention to raise himself to such a height, as to be above God, for then he would not have had an intention to dissolve the Vnity, but to better it, which he by the naturall gift only of science, did know to be impossible. He then had a thought to exalt himself, by withdrawing himself aside, and so going from one, to make the number of two, upon which afterward as upon a Center, he did designe his Circumference diverse from that of God, nor could he go from the one, but that he must be bad, because *all that is good is One*. God drawing a line from his Circumference, did to make the number of three, create man: the Devill likewise thrust out a line from his circumference, to make the number of foure, and did seduce him. God who would not leave man in the hands of the Devill, came to redeem him, and made the number of five, and although he did not take away from him the excitement that seduceth him towards the number of two, yet he gave him the grace that reduced him towards the One, whereupon man remained free (not being able to designe a Circumference upon himselfe, because there is no other

Circumference to be given, then of the One, and of the Two, nothing els being found but good or evil to determine it; Operating well upon the Centre of the one, and operating ill upon the Centre of the Two. As there are two Circumferences, so are there two reasons of State; the one of God the other of the Devill, that of God, is to come neare to God, to be great; that of the Devill is to go far from God to make himselfe great, what discourse then of a religious understanding shall ever deterre us from the spoiling the nest of the Heretiques, if we be able to do it? He that can do it, and doth it not, doth sin, and doth inlarge (as much as in him lies) the Circumference of the Devill. He that can do it, and doth it, doth enlarge (by what is in his power,) the circumference of God. Have sins power to defend States, and merits power to destroy them? Oh King! oh Grandee! oh Catholique! what thing think you, can defend your Kingdomes, not your treasures, not the Armies, it is God defends them, because you have defended him, because you do defend him; and that you may defend him.

Don Emanuell of *Merveses*, Generall of the Fleet of *Lisbone*, wanting sufficient means to maintain him at Court, & to defend him from

from some oppositions, advertis'd about the discharge of his trust, was resolv'd to be gone, & leave a Deputy; which the Duke perceiving by him, when he went to get leave of him did not consent that he should depart with dammage to his reputation, and yet being unwilling to hinder the course of justice, did offer himselfe to his assistance, as he did in effect to his purse, so did this magnanimous Favourite, reserve the rewards that were bestowed upon him to helpe deserving men upon their occasions.

It is a more blessed thing to give then to receive, and peradventure the reason is, because he that hath the commodity of giving, is more happy, then he that hath the necessity of receiving, most happy then is he that gives and not receives. He that receives and gives, is not the man that gives, but he that gave it him; such as are inflexible in receiving, are so likewise in giving: the selfe-same severity that they use against themselves, makes them little charitable towards others: the Lord *Duke* was able to have relieved an Officer of so great merit, with that, which was his, of whom he had well deserved, but he desired to do it with his own, because he was a well deserver of the King. A Favourite is to e-

ſteem the ſervice done to his Prince, as done to him, and to repute himſelfe obliged to whom the King is, if he gives to him that hath ſerved well, he merits for thoſe works, that he hath not done, but rewarded; he ſhould prize his goods more then his life, more then his underſtanding, more then himſelfe, that would waſt himſelfe, and not his Eſtate in the Kings ſervice; the part of giving is as hard as part of receiving; he that receives every thing is too covetous, he that takes nothing is too ſevere; *he that gives alwaies, is too prodigall, and he that never gives is too miſerable.*

The *Rhetorician* that thought it a difficult thing, to perſwade a Judge to give what was his own, and to be no hard matter to winne him to give what was another mans, would have been upon a falſe ground with the *Duke*; Oh the gallant and true magnanimity of a Favourite, who helpes by *liberality* where he cannot by *juſtice*; and will rather be a looſer himſelfe, that he may winne who is to looſe, then that juſtice ſhould loſe, who is alwaies to overcome; the Subjects that have worth in them, may contend with certainty of reward, when they ſerve a Monarch, whoſe Favourite is ſuch an one, that if he do not intercede

tercede to the King for them, he gives like a King to them; who will believe that a man will not be liberall of another mans purse, when he is franke of his own when he is to be so; I was about to say, when he needs not be so, I will say when he cannot be.

Never was there a Favourite so courteous in Audiences, so loving to Councell, to assist, to comfort, and to hearken, I would set down multitudes of glorious examples, but because they are many, I will let them all alone, because I would carry away the garland for brevity.

There is nothing more desired or more deare to the people then audience, and there is no Officer, that can give it more, or ought to give it more, then he that is most just. Some there are, the which I know not whether through zeale of justice, or ruggednesse of nature, do heare with little patience, and answer with little love, such as they will not listen unto; whereas indeed they should have been harkned unto patiently, and sweetly comforted; it is necessary to shew love to all, being merry with them that have what they would have; compassionating others that want of their riches; to the end that the gainers may ascribe the obligation of

their gaining to their favours, and the lookers may lay it only on neceſſity: They are no competent givers of audience, that do not do that which is juſt, for when they are aſſailed by the powerfull reaſons of ſuch as are concern'd, they are compel'd to diſmiſſe them with an, I will have it ſo: Whereupon afterwards the offended ſubjects call them, and by good reaſon call them, the Willers of wrong, becauſe they will, in as much as becauſe they would, they wronged them.

But the Lord Duke, who doth hold in his hand the ballances of *Aſtræa*, as well in matters of *favour* as of *juſtice*, doth eaſily pacifie ſuch as he accepts againſt, making them to know that they are either overcome by *merit*, or by *law*.

I know not what to ſay of the Prince, I might happily ſay that of him, that I ſay of the Favourite, that he hath not only an uprightneſſe in the adminiſtration of juſtice, but that he hath no leſſe in the granting of courteſies. *Man is of himſelf a reaſonable creature, but when he deprives himſelf of juſtice, he layes aſide his reaſon, and is but only a creature.* The friends of the Favourite are to be ſuch as merit, and ſuch to be moſt

his

his friends, that merit most; the friendship that is grounded without reason, may be said not to be without unlawfull appetite, and because it is not without passion, it is not without reason; man hath not so much liberty to have as he thinks he hath. If we should not love God above all things, wee should sinne, and if we love such as merit little, we may erre; it is a great matter certainly, that charges are unjustly given, to such sometimes that are to administer justice. I will not call this a *liberty* to do favours, but a *licentiousnesse* and an abuse, which makes a great confusion in the world; the greatest honour doth of justice belong to him which is of greatest worth, as the greatest punishment is his due by justice that is the greatest offendour; and questionlesse *if there could be found ballances which should weigh merits, as there are some to weigh transgressions, I should wonder why justice should be painted onely with the sword in her right hand, and not likewise with Cities, Kingdomes, and Monarchies, that she may as it were weigh them, not to the end, to reward merits, but to the end to punish offences.*

If all Kingdomes could have such a Fa-

vourite as this, which would as diligently weigh deſerts, as failings, and that he would take away that falſe liberty of granting favours, which doth ſo much harme, and procures ſo much hatred to the Prince, how would they be without confuſion, without laments, and alwaies full of worthy men and happy; but it may be this is not in uſe, becauſe Princes would not be known to be neceſſitated, either to be of more value then others, or to hold the Principallity unjuſtly, or els to lay it down.

The Lord *Duke* is ſo eaſie to pardon injuries, and ſo much an enemy to revenge himſelfe, that many have thought it reaſon of ſtate to be his Enemies; there was a principall man, who upon no occaſion of his, nor for any juſt reaſon, had a piſtoll prepared to kill him, and having confeſt this with many other faults deſerving death, the Lord *Duke* did make his puniſhment to be chang'd into a long impriſonment, from thence he got means to get free, yet left he not the wickedneſſe of his heart, but being diſcovered he was forc't to haſt him out of *Spaine* to get into another Kingdome, where he was impriſoned.

The Lord *Duke* having notice of it, he diſpat-

dispatched a post, to the Officers of the King to let him remain there, for if he were remanded into *Spaine*, he could not be able to save him from death.

I do relate this, but (by the *Dukes* leave) I do not commend it; for *he that hates without occasion, hates without reason, he hates by nature, nay rather against nature*; he takes not away such a mans hatred, that takes not away his life; *to pardon such whose natures are Enemies to nature, may be magnanimity, but not to punish them is injustice*, it is the will of God, that man pardon man here in this world, but not so as he doth in heaven, if the offended pardon the offence, his purpose is, that the Judge should punish it; whereas if God pardon it in heaven, he cannot punish it; *because he himselfe is the Judge and the party offended*, but in the world, although man may pardon, yet will he that the Judge punisheth, because *He* for his part is not the selfe-same *He*, that punisheth in the world, that is offended in *Heaven*, and to the end that the same man in the behalfe of man, may not be lesse, that is offended then he that punisheth, *he calls the Judge by the name of God, to the end peradventure to make us know, that he doth not punish as man, but as God.*

To

To returne evill for good is a notable errour, yet that is not it, which ruines the world; for it is very seldome done, it is too great injustice, it is odious, it is ingratitude, it is blamed of all, because the example of it, is prejudiciall to all, it is reason of State, to hinder it, and to hate it. They that expect benefits (and all expect them) would loose the hope of receiving any, if by frequent ingratitudes the minds of such as do favours, should be abused.

To render evill for evill, which seems a lesse errour, is oftentimes praised, is alwaies as it were borne with all, and is that which hath brought in revenge, and revenge is that which ruines the world.

The Judge cannot render Evill for Evill, when he cuts of a limbe. or takes away life; he doth justice for injustice, he doth good for ill; Man sinneth in doing, either because he doth it, when he ought not, or because he doth it not as he ought, or that he doth more then he ought; Plants are not untamed, a savage; they are the beasts that are so, & they are so because they have a sensitive soule, men are more savage, because because besides the sensitive, they have a reasonable soule; Wild Beasts destroy, led on by their

their senses, but men do it guided indeed by their senses, & likewise by reason ill directed by the sense; *amongst such things as are under the Circle of the Moone, they alwaies become the worst, that were the most perfect.*

In the distribution of offices and dignities, the Lord Duke, came seldome to the Councell, and oftentimes jumped with the people, in knowing who was to be elected, when he is to be elected; And this course doth not he only, but the *King* likewise strictly observes in Ecclesiasticall offices, laying that burden upon the shoulders of his Confessours to choose such as are propounded by the Councell, though there be every moneth such a quantity of them provided, that it amounts to a hundred thousand crownes revennue.

All states, yea Tyrannies, are govern'd by an Aristocracy, for if the Magistrates doe it not, the Officers doe, and they for Masse are a Common-wealth. The Favourite is the Dictatour, if he doe nothing, he becomes nothing, if he do every thing, he savours of a Tyrant. What matter is it, or of what consequence, for him to choose Offices for all, it serves well enough that such as choose, have chosen, for then is he assured, that such shall be elected, as he himself would have chosen: He is quitted from the hatred of such

ſuch as are left out, and looſeth not the obligation of thoſe that are elected, for they are ſufficiently oblig'd to him, in that they were not hindered by him; and that which is beſt of all, he is ſafe from the danger, of not having well elected. It is very hard to know the ability of perſons, thereby to reſt confident in election. Experience deceives us, and reaſon cannot teach it. Every Science to be well learned, and every office to be well diſcharged requires a particular quality of the braine, and ſo as one mans being eminent in a Science, is rather a certain ſigne of weakneſſe, then of ability in others; ſo the managing of one employment with prudence, doth not conclude the ſame fidelity in others, that are not the ſame. *Nature when ſhe makes one only thing, ſhe makes it for one only end; ſhe is not (as the Philoſopher ſaid) like the* Delphick *Smith, whoſe knife did cut, and ſaw, and bore.* Either a witty Tyrant knew this, or a ſubtle Politician made him ſay it, when he left it written; That, many who are ſent into commands appeare diverſe, from what was hoped, or feared; ſome of them are heightned by the greatneſſe of employment, and others diſgraced; which doth not only proceed by a glancing quality

quality of the braine, but likwiſe ſometimes through the inequality of the buſineſſe. A man of great abilities thruſt upon an inferiour buſineſſe, deſpiſeth it, regards it not, is careleſſe of it; and that man brought to great affaires, makes it appear, he was leſſe then the leaſt, becauſe he was greater. Others of a ſmall Alloy, being employ'd in poore affaires, and therein wholy intent, come out with much applauſe, but advanced to greater, they do fall to ruine, and manifeſt that the felicity which they had in the ſmall matters, was not the greatneſſe of their parts, but the ſutable equality to their capacities: That Tyrant did deſire this part in his Officers, and that Polititian knew it for excellent when he did command a ſubject, not for his being ſuperiour, but becauſe he was equall to buſineſſe.

The Lord Duke, to the end that the Counſellours ſhould alwaies be wary and dilligent in the well performing of their duties, made a little window, to be made in all the places of Councells, where though the King, could not ſometimes be preſent, yet that they might alwaies doubt he might be there.

A Prince hath a ſimilitude to God, though

though infinitely inferiour, and yet man makes him as it were ſuperiour, whilſt he is carefull not to tranſgreſſe, becauſe it may be the Prince may be there, but takes no care at all, though the Lord is there, as if he did doubt of that which is certain, and were certain of that which he doubteth. *He that durſt not offend in the preſence of* Cato, *did audaciouſly offend in the preſence of God.* I give not this as a ſigne of an annihilated faith, but an aſſwaged faith; it is a point that ſhould be taught children, before they know ſinne, to the end they ſhould not ſin, becauſe they ſhould know they did it in the ſight of God; it may be the having ſinned without ſhame, would not take away the ſhame of ſinne. It is a great matter to conſider that the quantity of offences, encreaſeth the confidence of offending, whereas it ſhould encreaſe the feare, becauſe it encreaſeth the offences. *But all our Errours proceed from our ignorance:* Man cannot ſee God alive; man knowes that God is, what he is, but he knowes not that, which he is, becauſe in this world he doth not ſee him, as he is. I doe not therefore wonder that the Prophet called his ſinnes, by the name of ignorances.

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He did intreat his King, upon his knees, that he would encreaſe his Talent, not only by his experience, which by his continuall practice in buſineſſe he had gained, but by his reading of the ſtories of his predeceſſours; the King followed his counſell, and one day as he was reading, he fell into a large commendation of one King in eſpeciall, to whom the *Duke* replied, that he would have been much more worthy of praiſe, had he not ſuffered himſelfe to be ſo much governed by his Favourite.

It was given as an excellent counſell to Nero, *to the end he might ſuppreſſe* Seneca, *to ſhew him who was his Maſter, that his predeceſſours were moſt powerfull Doctours to inſtruct him*; the Lord *Duke* likewiſe, to the end that none ſhould give the counſell againſt him, did blame that King to his Majeſty, becauſe he ſuffered himſelfe to be led by his Favourite, as by a Maſter, making it appeare to him, that his fore-Fathers are fit to inſtruct him, and therefore intreates him to read the ſtory of his Family.

Nicholas Machiavell, he would have men have recourſe to Ancient rather then Modern Writers; he ſaid, that if we make uſe of the learnings of the Antient, for Phyſick,

ſick, if of their Lawes for judgmeut, if of their Statutes for imitation, why ſhould we not ſerve our turnes likewiſe with them by imitation of their Actions, which is not a thing impoſſible to be done, in as much, as neither the Heavens, the Elements, nor men, have changed their motion, order or manners.

I for my part (and I deſire pardon) am of a contrary opinion, yet do not I ſay that men are changed, I rather ſay they are not changed in Specie, or the Individualls, yet are the actions changed which are not of the Species, but of the Individualls; the quality and quantity of meats, being now in our times altered and changed, have made them excuſable, who have written Aphoriſmes that once were true, but now are falſe; and this alteration hath had great power in the change of the Temperature, which being changed, hath in part changed the manners.

I do not ſay, that the heavens are not the ſame, and that their motions are varied; The motions are not the givers of influence, but the Stars, nor the Stars neither without an Aſpect; The ſelfe-ſame Heavens then, the ſelf ſame Stars, the ſelf-ſame motions do ſtill remain; but not the ſelf-ſame Aſpects, nor never

never shall, and then if the self-same Aspects shall never be, no more (in as much as belongs to them) shall the same effects be. *Inferiour things hath a connexion with the superiour: He that would consider, that there is not one Constellation like another in the Heavens, would not mervaile, that there is not one man like another on the Earth, and that one action is not like another*; but as in Astrologie that observation that is neareſt, is leaſt falſe, ſo in policy is that example, that is moſt moderne.

If Phyſitians goe not from the reaſons of the Antients, yet doe they in a great part, goe from their Medicines; The thin and ſpare dyets, that are appointed and taught by *Hippocrates*, which are to give nothing, except the diſeaſe be reſolved on, when the judgment is made on the fourth day, if all thoſe times they helpe, all other times they hurt; ſome barly corns weight, that did ſerve them of old for a competent food, would ſterve us now. The *Hellebores* which then did worke a purging Medicines, would now extinguiſh Patients, new diſeaſes are now ſprung up, new Medicines are now invented, and the old corrected and changed.

The Lawes of times paſt, do ſerve theſe times,

times, but they are such as judge between *Titus* and *Sempronius*, but not those that have respect to the countenance of States: Nay rather a great part belonging to manners are changed; Our Religion hath established a Canonicall Law diverse from the Civill Law: Lawes of marriage are varied, those of divorce are taken away; nor is there any thing now spoken, of bond or free-man.

The *Agrarian* and the *Iulian* Law, besides a multitude of others, are muffled up in oblivion, nor there is the least City that is built, that hath not built peculiar Statutes.

In *Sculpture* we imitate the Ancients to make a man, which is alwaies the same, but not to make this man which is alwaies divers, and *as the Sculpture should be ridiculous that being desirous to make a strong man, should shape him out by the Statue of* Alexander, *so likewise that polititian should be fooliſh, that would endeavour to teach the maintenance of our moderne Common-wealths, with the rules and manners of the Romanes.*

He that believes that after he hath read a laudable example of our Predecessours, that he is able by and by, to put it in practice, is deceived; he should have need first to change all the world: *The world consists of order*

order and harmony, and it is an Inſtrument of many ſtrings, alter any one, of them never ſo little, and all are a great deale out of tune.

Machiavell was likewiſe deceived in believing, that the helpe of hiſtory did conſiſt in the making uſe of example; and from this errour, as from the Root, come all his failings in policy; *As Empericks are to be condemn'd in Phyſick, ſo are Exemplaries to be abandoned in policy.*

We ought not, not only, not to make uſe of the Examples of the Antients, but likewiſe not of the modern; for they require too great circumſtances to come to be themſelves, and will aske a great many to make a rule; Many of them are very dangerous, in as much as they are not alwaies the ſonnes of prudence, but many times of fortune, and *fortune is not to be preſuppoſed in buſineſſe, but to be deſired.* I blame not by this the reading of hiſtory, for I commend it, and reſemble it to meats, becauſe *as meates, except they do more then ſtay in the ſtomacke onely, they doe not nouriſh the body: ſo if hiſtory ſtay onely in the memory, it doth not forme the* judgement, *they are changed, digeſted, and animated*: If all men had eminency of underſtanding, they would have no need to read hiſtories, to become

come Phiſitians, or trouble themſelves to ſtudy Statues (I now inſiſt againſt *Machiavels* argument) to be Sculptoures: but becauſe in few, and a few times this eminency is to be found, Polititians diſpoſe themſelves to read Hiſtories, and Sculptours to imitate ſtatues; and as Statues are of no uſe to Sculptours, but for good delineation, it being no commendation to copy the very ſame, but to make ſome varied with the manner deduced from them: So Hiſtories are little helpfull to Polititians, but only for the ſetling of a good judgement. *For they are not to operate according to the examples, but according to the judgement that they have raiſed upon the reading of the examples.*

Machiavell is to be borne withall, if he be an Emprick in policy, becauſe he is likewiſe an Emperick in phyſick, whilſt he doth ſay, that it is an experience made by the Ancients, whereupon the Phiſitians of now a dayes, doe ground their judgements; whereas he ſhould have ſaid, that it is a Science of wholſomeneſſe, unwholſomenſſe and Neuters.

I fall to my Centre, and commend the Duke, that commended the reading of Hiſtories to the King, on purpoſe that from them

them he might frame his judgement, and that he ſhould conſider thoſe of his fore-Fathers, that he might ſerve his turne with example, and with leſſe danger.

If Libells and Satyrs be only againſt him, he never puniſheth, becauſe he deſpiſeth them; but if they be againſt the King, or any other Officer, he makes the Delinquent ſmart for it.

A man that was a great Artiſt, ſaid, that a ſubject ought not to ſatyrize againſt one that commands, but is to praiſe him that is paſt, to follow him that is preſent, and is to deſire good Princes, but to reverence them whatſoever they are.

Tyberius began the law of high treaſon, for his beginnings were very good; he did not follow it, becauſe they became bad.

It was not Art, it was Nature; and rigour was not encreaſed in that, till goodneſſe was diminiſhed in him, himſelf he altred, and it he altered, and becauſe he ingraved it in the tree of malice, as that encreaſed, it encreaſed. *They that puniſh Satyrs approve of them, if they be falſe, they move to laughter; if they be true, they excite to choller.*

To be blamed with a lye doth comfort, for it intimates a not being able to be blam'd with

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a truth. That which is, is not neglected to be ſaid, when that which is not is ſaid; but thoſe Princes, that find themſelves galled by truth, fall into fury, becauſe they perceive that known, which they did not believe to be known, and it may be they did not know it themſelves, being flattered by others, ſometimes likewiſe flatterers of themſelves, and ſince that they cannot hinder underſtanding, but that they underſtand them, they will reſtraine pens that they may not write, tongues that they may not ſpeak, that if it be not loſt in the memory of thoſe that are, yet that nothing may come into the knowledge of thoſe that ſhall be, and truly Princes would have a power in them to forme forgetfulneſſe, if it were in their power, as it is in ours to ſtop pens, and ſtay tongues.

I do not conſent to the conceit of the Commons that Libels are good inſtructions of Princes, I hate them as unprofitable, I blame them as pernicious, I ſpeak not to have them approved of, but I ſay, that they are not alwaies to be puniſhed, without any meaning, but that they ſhould be ſometimes corrected, *Liberty of ſpeech and writing againſt a Prince without danger, makes him looſe his reſpect, and reſpect once loſt produceth rebel-*

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lion, to what few the advices and counsels of such, as not managing the businesse of state are never informd, upon what pin they turn? A Prince in my opinion should erre in his affaires if he take not the opinion of many; I was about to say of all, if it could be had without the communicating of his interests to all. He that blames him and knowes not his secrets, must remember, that so the God of Heaven, might sometimes be blamed by the rashnesse of men; if he that did know his secrets had not stopped his tongue, with the bridle of ignorance.

The Lord Duke gives no audience to women, because he will not that married women shame their husbands, as if that they were the more able; and as for widdowoes and maides, he hath assured them, that a Letter under their hand, shall have more power to prevaile, then the sight of their persons. He saith that the Seremonies which are to be considered about women, take up too much time, and that humane weakneſſe perswades him timorously to avoid dangers, rather then too confidently to encounter them.

Beauty if it doth move to love, it incites to compassion, and the Judge that hath compassion, is in passion, and not right: He falls from

himſelf, and alwaies declines that is compaſſionate, or loves; *and for the moſt part hee that takes pitie, loves.* Compaſſion is ſometimes formed from the quality of the buſineſſe, ſometimes from the quality of the perſon; the one is produced from feare, the other from love, the one hath the future for object which is feared, the other the preſent, which is loved; and albeit feare is more active, yet doth the perſon move more compaſſion then the caſe, becauſe *that which is, doth move with more vigour, then that, that may be.*

They that believe that woman was not made againſt the intention of nature, that ſhe is not an Errour or a Monſter, muſt confeſſe ſhe is made for generation, and if ſhe be made for this end, as indeed ſhe is, it is neceſſary that ſhe be endued with parts that move unto the end; for hence it comes to paſſe, that ſo ſoon as ſhe is repreſented unto us, if there be not firſt a habit form'd, or that at the very inſtant, there be not ſome great reſiſtance made, man doth by nature haſten to contemplate her, for the end to which ſhe was made by nature. *Diſtance is a better Fort then Habit, and more ſecure then reſiſtance.* Man may alwaies reſiſt, but he doth

doth not alwaies resist; and extraordinary occasions which are rare, produce not those habits, which things that haunt us acquire, nay, rather the formes doth not admit them, because this is an inseparable naturall, from a peptayed nature, a man may overcome it, but not separate it.

It was told the Duke, that a great Officer of the greatest Potentate, found fault with him; I cannot believe it, I will not believe it, replyed the Duke; for it is not to be surmised of a man of so great worth. Though the Duke had reason to blame him, and to conceit but meanly of him, principally, if he compar'd him to himself, who is an Officer of so worthy fame, and worthy of so high renowne.

To blame Competitours, is either a signe of great good, or of great weakness; for the most part, when it doth not proceed from zeale, it proceeds from envy, and envy in regard of its effect, is called inferiority. *He that knowes himself superiour to others, praiseth his Corivalls, to make them great to magnifie himself, for their deserving match, makes him merit more.* He is not great, that is not so over inferiours, but he is great, that is greater then the greatest:

teſt: The worſt compariſon doth diminiſh blame, but doth not forme a praiſe, the beſt encraſeth it. *The Tyrant that did never deſire other thing then to make his ſubject vile and baſe, was aſhamed when he knew them baſe, becauſe he knew that it made him baſe.* Such as will learne an Art or a Science, the firſt object that they ſet before them, is not immediatly that of the Art, or that of the Science; but an Artiſt, or a Scientiate, and that not the greateſt neither, but the neareſt. (Our deſires are ſhort ſighted, they ſee but a little way off, and doubtleſſe it is a great matter, that the very ſame man, that hath a mind ſo ſwolne, as not to be content with the greateſt things in the world, can yet have it ſo little, as to believe he is to be content with ſmall things: The one proceeds pradventure from the buſineſſe of the matter, the other from the eminency of the forme.) And afterward when the Artiſt or Scientiate hath arriv'd to the firſt object, he thruſts himſelf forward to another, never ceaſing to have ſome one man for his object, till he hath paſſed all men; then is it in his nature, never to look back upon ſuch as he hath out gon, and as one that is altogether intent, not to arrive to an eminency among Profeſſours,

fessours, but of the profession; He reflects no more upon the quality of the Artificers, but onely considers the greatnesse of the Art, whence it comes to passe, that when he speaks not of others, and when he considers not others, he manifests to have exceeded them, and if by chance some speak to him of any Artificer, he praiseth him, because he chose the Art that he did chuse; he blames him not, because he considers him, not as an object not arrived unto, but as a companion to that object, to which he himselfe is not arrived.

The *Duke* is not an obstinate defendour of his opinions, but if he doth meet with a better, which rarely falls out, he embraceth it.

Some stand firme and setled in their opinions, because it is good, and then it is constancy, and some because they know not a better, and then it is weakenesse, some because they will not know another, and then it is obstinacy. It seems to be a very secure course for the Favourite, to be turn'd to the opinion that seems to him the best, for if it happen well, it is so where he accepts it, if it was not his, he shall avoid inexplicable dangers, that hath a purpose to make himselfe the head of a party, if

after he hath ſpoken his opinion he doth not ſtand obſtinately to maintain it. All opinions that ſeem beſt are not ſo, becauſe a man doth not alwaies negotiate with the beſt, irreſolution is reputed weakneſſe, and perhaps it is the nobleneſſe of the underſtanding: the object of it is that which cannot be falſe, if it be quieted with that which may be, and may not be, it is deceived; the man that is the chiefe of the Counſellours, is not for all that, found to be chiefeſt in Counſels, he that hath got a ſtrong Fort, is not to adventure it upon the uncertainty of one iſſve; for the danger, and the gain are not equall in him; he ought alwaies to propound buſineſſe by way of doubt, without hearing a caſe beyond diſtinction, or knot to be untied, or evaſion to be propounded, to that end that an opinion may not be held, that may not be framed by Arguments, and defended by the ſolutions which he hath propounded in his underſtanding, and in this caſe if they fall out well, he ſhall have the honour of it, becauſe they were taken for the reaſons that he had adopted, if they prove ill, he ſhall not be aſhamed, for he ſhall meet with thoſe difficulties, which he foreſaw, and if by chance he hath ometimes a deſire to apply them, more to

one

one resolution then to another, he must provide to make some confident of his, the president of the businesse.

True it is, that a subject of great worth, that is not known, and moves not in a large Spheere, after having exquisitely pondered the reasons, may for once be the leader of an opinion, because it is doubtfull whether the losse or the gain may be greater to him. It is necessary for a man to make himselfe famous in the opinion of him, to whom he should appear so, and to adventure himselfe to him that will make him famous.

The first day that *Don Francisco* of *Contreras* entred into his office, the *Duke* spake to him after this manner:

Many are the years that I have lived in Court, and in those years I have seen many Lords and Knights consume their Estates, been sent to prison and be banished, for having had brawles with representers of justice, as Notaries, Provost Marshals, Sergeants and such like; and yet I never saw any of those hang'd; though it be impossible that such kind of people, which are of inferiour condition should alwaies have reason for what they do; and therefore it is to be believed, that these being such as hale men to prison,

and ſuch as forme proceſſes, do find meanes to unburthen themſelves, to burthen others.

Your Excellency then, ſhall do a great ſervice to his Majeſtie, and a great good to the Common-wealth, if you will ridd the Court of this abuſe; yet doe I not meane that offendours of any condition ſhould eſcape unpuniſhed, (for that would diminiſh the reſpect that is due to juſtice) but that you ſhould cauſe ſuch Officers that abuſe their Authority to be hang'd. This advertiſement that manifeſted the upright intention of the Duke, did likewiſe notably comfort all the Nobility.

Monarchies, which are the great Coloſſes of the world, are kept up by two of the baſeſt pillars that can be, that is by Executioners and Serjeants; but what of that? *Hath not likewiſe every garden that is full of ſweeteſt hearbs, rich in choiceſt flowers, fruitfull in every plant, the baſeſt excrements of bruite beaſts for its foundation?*

If Monarchies were not degenerated into Tyrannies, if zeale for God would alwaies adminiſter juſtice, then would there be *Samuels* found, that would put *Agags* to death; *Eliahs* that would rip up the bellies of

of the false Prophets; But that zeale is lost, and insteed of it we find, that subjects of great bloud are ashamed to be Officers for such imployments? So that it was necessary to have recourse, to the vilest of the vile people; and because the base fellowes which undertake that charge, if they find it not vile, do make it so: Princes were as it were compel'd, yea, the very wisest of them, to defend and uphold such kind of instruments: For should they likewise have had them in a base esteem, that weakness of the foundation would have drawn with it the ruine of Dominion into consequence; but it may be too, that it is a cunning in Princes, to put these charges into the hands of people of a vile condition, for such offices have in them something of terrible; so that if they should have joyn'd reputation to such terribleness, I am not certain whether instead of making the subjects only stand in feare, they would not likewise have terrified Princes, whereas now they cannot offend with that reputation which the Prince giveth them, because he defends them; they thinke it an errour to punish them, by whom they punish, they believe, that the Domination which relieth upon them in generall, relyeth upon every In-

dividuall, as if that the neck of a raſcall were the neck of the Monarchie; but it is a too too ordinary a courſe, to make juſtice become impudent, that they may keep their government untouch't.

The *Duke* of *Aſcot* of *Flanders* went into *Spaine*, ſent thither by the ſhe, that is beyond all praiſe, the Infanta *Elizabeth*, who as ſhe did aſſure the Catholique King of the integrity of that *Duke*, in the inſurrection propounded by Count *Henry*, and ſome other Rebels, ſo likewiſe ſhe writ to him, that by him he might be able to diſcover all the perſons of the Confederacy, and all the deſignes that they had; Now in regard that the effects of it were begun to be felt in *Flanders*, the King queſtion'd the Duke of *Aſcot* about it, whoſe anſwer was, that he knew no more of any thing, then what he had revealed to the moſt renowned *Infanta*; ſuch a Negation in ſo dangerous a buſineſſe, looked, as if it deſerved an impriſonment, but the Lord *Duke*, who knew, that it did not proceed from any ill mind in the *Duke* of *Aſcot*, but from a certain niceneſſe of laying them open which had truſted him, taking upon himſelfe, the aſſurance of his not flying away, did intreat his Majeſtie to queſtion him once again.

Many

Many there are, that believe that they are not bound to discover what they know; so that they do not, what they ought not, but they do that, they should not, when they tell not, that they know.

It is the most capitall offence in conspiracy to conceale the conspiracy, for if they be knowne they are hindred, he that doth not ran himselfe into a rebellion, yet knowes of it, and holds his peace shewes more feare then love.

I confidently believe, that the character of nobility of mind in the *Duke* of *Ascot*, which made him loyall to his Prince, was the very same thing that made him faithfull to his friends; but what faith is to be observ'd with such an one, as keeps not his faith? with one that would make him unfaithfull; (I was about to say, that had made him when he tempted him? what kind of friend call you him, that perswades his friend unto treason? he is doubtlesse an enemy, that toucheth a mans reputation, and invites him to infamy, this is not a conceit, but a truth that I write, and yet are men oftentimes deceived with it, running to what is false, under the appearance of what is good: Tyrants have been the occasion of that great errour, who by means of their wickednesse, have made the re-

revealing of conſpiracies an infamy, the plotting of them a glory. It may too, that Princes have co-operated in the work, by ſuffering them to come abroad imbroydered with Encomions, therein publiſhing that Conſpiracies are good, if Princes be bad; how much better had it been, to have made it utterly deteſtable, then to leave it in the breaſt of the paſſions of men, to judge firſt of the Prince, and then of the conſpiracies; our religion hath in part provided for it, ſuch as have impugned the Authority of the Pope, being unwilling to have it in his hands to declare who are friends, either have a deſire to be, or would have a power to be, or elſe are already Tyrants, they know not certainly what the reaſon of State is, which (though Religion move them not, that ought to move them) ſhould not only have a power to make them believe this infallible truth, but that they ſhould likewiſe make it be believed by the Subjects. to the end, that whereas there are now ſo many Tribunals of Subjects that judge of the Prince, and ſo anſwerable to that judgment, legitimate, or illegitimate conſpiracy, it might be brought to one only juſt Tribunall, which is the Tribunall, of the Vicar of God.

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The King examined the *Duke* of *Aſcot* twice more, rather like a Brother then a Soveraigne; and he ſtill holding himſelfe to his firſt tale, the Lord *Duke* was deſirous to talk with him himſelfe once again, in the preſence of the Duke of *Atra*, and the Preſident of *Caſtile*, to whom the Duke of *Aſcot* anſwering, that he had told what he knew, and what the *Infanta* would have teſtified for a truth, had ſhe beene now alive; the Duke that he might convince him, ſhew'd him the letter of the *Infanta*, at which he was aſtoniſhed, not being able to recover himſelfe, the King hereupon was inforced to commit him into hold, with all the commodities that were poſſible; when the Duke of *Aſcot* reflecting upon the Letter of the *Infanta*, and knowing the bounds of neceſſity, writ a letter to the Duke, as to the man whom he had alwaies known well affected towards him, wherein he did unfold as much as was deſired to be known: the Duke carried it to the King without opening it, and then upon his knees did humbly beſeech him to excuſe the error of the Duke of *Aſcot*, as a thing that proceeded from a falſe opinion, & not from any ill will, and in the mean time he took the leave, to make his ſword be reſtored him, that it might

might appeare he was not reſtrain'd for his own fault, and he gave order that there ſhould be an Edict of pardon publiſhed in *Flanders* for all ſuch, as had not made themſelves guilty by diſcovering themſelves.

The Scruples of honour, whereby Subjects doe ſometimes diſtaſt Princes, are rather worthy of compaſſion then chaſtiſement, what ill will be feared from an honourable man? the ſubject can do no harme to his Prince if he be not infamous; *then ought the Prince as a Phyſitian to uſe the ſick party roughly, not to kill him, but to heale him*; when a man doth any thing for the honour of zeale only, he works not by his own will, leſſe againſt his will, but out of his will, for that that perſwades him, is not in him, but without him. To ſet upon which neceſſity, is not to do violence, but to remove it: Honour ſhould be one of the moſt ſubſtantiall foundations that ſhould uphold nature, if it were as well regulated by good Lawes, as it is worm-eaten with wicked opinions; but it cannot be ordered by good Lawes, if the opinion of ſwaggering be not firſt taken away, and this cannot be aboliſhed, becauſe it is a too neceſſary quality in Subjects, if Princes will either defend or inlarge their territories, the ad-

advantages that men get by ſtoutneſſe, and the diſadvantages that they receive by cowardlineſſe, makes this be diſpiſed and that applauded; ſo that many have valued ſwaggerers, for men of greateſt ſpirits, as if they had greater ſoules.

The Lord Duke was likewiſe to be praiſed for the happy progreſſe in *Germany*. He was the man that counſelled the King to ſend, and did make the proviſion, that the Cardinall *Infanta* might go thither, a Prince of great Spirit and magnanimous, of a generous mind & undaunted heart, whoſe beams were ſcarcely diſcover'd Orientall, but that they conſumed the vapours, diſperſt the clouds, and cleared the skye, It is queſtionleſſe a great matter, but now adayes not new, nay rather moſt uſuall, that three Princes, and they young ones, as the King of *Hungaria*, the Cardinall *Infanta*, and Duke *Charles* of *Lorraine*, have terrified and ſuppreſt, the wiſedome experience and fortune, of Captains of great reputation, bred up in the waies and knowledge of warres.

All that are, and have been in the world, have ordinarily periods, which are the Beginnings, Encreaſe, Stay, Declination, and End. *He that painted Fortune upon a Wheel,*

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if that Wheel were not Heaven, if that Fortune were not the Starrs, he was in an horrible errour to picture only one thing in this World upon a Wheel, where every thing hath its severall Wheel. It is true that Fortune often-times growes grey-headed with a man; but that which did at one time raiſe him, is not that which dejected him, becauſe it may turne. One hath a fortune, doth encreaſe, another that throwes down, and declines. I never wonder that foraigne Princes to move Cities under Dominion to rebellion, but I am amaz'd to think, that Cities will be moved to it; for if they overcome they cannot do it, but they muſt firſt behold, their Countries deſtroied, their countrymen ſpoiled, and their Exchequours conſumed; ſo that when they have wone, they have loſt; they do not take away Authority, they do but change it; and the very ſame hatred they had towards their old Governours, they will place upon the new. *It is not againſt the man, it is againſt Dominion, which never dyes, for the Princes be mortall, Principalities are immortall.* They too much flatter themſelves with hopes of melioration in mutation; if they truſt in friendſhip, they are vaine. *The love of intereſt, which is a Giant,*

Giant, doth eaſily overcome all other loves, which are but Children.

It may be peradventure believed, that there will be leſſe deſire of dominion in a new Lord, who is not a new Lord, but by too much covetous deſire of rule, nay rather it is to be feared as moſt undoubted, that he will ſtop up the way by which he entred in himſelf, that other may not be brought by it. I will not particularize the miſchiefs that their loſſes would bring forth, they ſee them that produce them, yet produce they not ſo many as their victories would; they are too too quickly falne under the gentleneſſe of ſo courteous Princes.

If our Lord God would have been pleaſed to ſhew in a glaſſe, to the Princes, and Cities, that have moved commotions in *Germany*, upon future condition, that, which ſuch an Inſurrection would have brought forth, this ſo horrible a Tragedy, had not now been to be ſeen; but he forbeare not doubtleſſe to preſent it to ſuch eyes, as were willing to ſee it. What underſtanding could be ſo blockiſh as not to know it, did it but diſcourſe it; What memory ſo ſlippery, that could not as it were lively repreſent the future ſucceſſe, which it had obſerved in the fore-

forepaſſed Warrs that which hath been, is that which ſhall be, particularly when that which was, is that which is.

The ſpace of an hundred years, is the breadth of the Channell, that the River of forgetfulneſſe hath, thoſe men are now dead, who did know Rebellions to be unfruitfull, vaine, not without great danger, and extreame great loſſe; there is now no Reliques to be diſcovered of burnt downe Townes, Trees burnt to aſhes; Lands become barren; Cities laid defart, deſtroyed and demoliſhed; the loſſe is not believed, or if it be not valued, becauſe it is knowne reparable, and is ſeen to be repaired.

How ought it to be deſiderable by many, to have no walls about their Cities. *The Romans certainly were not more courteous to the Grecians in any one thing, then in beating downe their Walls; and that Law-maker, that would not have the Citizens repaire them, had not only an opinion peradventure to make them more Vertuous, but had a conceit likewiſe to make them leſſe raſh. The good complexion of men is oftentimes their death, becauſe they being confident of it, fall into diſorders that kill them.*

Power that is great in name, and not great in

in Authority, or at the leaſt greater in forces, ſhould not adventure (without ſecurity) to be beaten down by them, whoſe loſſes it may increaſe; becauſe ſometimes Princes are not moved to great purchaſes, either becauſe they think them not neceſſary to be gotten, and ſo content themſelves, or becauſe they feare to looſe, and ſo endanger not themſelves, but if by chance ſome violence ſpurre them on to take Arms, they begin to believe, that for to maintain their reputation of not being afraid, it is neceſſary to take them up, and then they lay them not down, till they have inlarged their Dominions, or increaſed their Authority, *but it is very true, that wars come again to ſpront out, becauſe Conquerours either know not how, or will not know, or indeed are not able to make an end of their victories*; ſometimes being full of glory they are Satiate, ſometimes afflicted by the charges, affrighted by the many ſlaughters, and deſirous of quiet, they enjoy the preſent, recommending the future into the hands of Time and Fortune, and the valour of their ſucceſſours; he deſerves ſufficiently in this world that can put danger a great way from him, becauſe great ones may be defer'd, but not taken away; *ſo many wars would not doubt-*

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leſſe be, if a meanes could be found, that greatneſſe amongſt equalls, ſhould not bring forth Envy, and that they could take away jealouſie from Inferiours.

I certainly hold that Princes (I ſpeak of ſuch as are paſt, after that they were come the Monarchs) had a regard only to the preſervation of their ſtates, and I believe likewiſe that they were oftentimes informed, they could not be able to keep them, without the taking in of ſome places, that might threaten a diſturbance; and then, aſſoon as that was gain'd, they would begin to find out another that might be prejudiciall to the laſt that was got, and ſo indeed go infinitely on, *from whence peradventure it comes, that by this inſenſible deceit, they have made it be believed, that the deſire to keep what they have, hath beene a covetouſneſſe to get large Dominions.*

That Emperour alwaies *Auguſtus*, that in his time ſaw the world in a calme; to keep it in that tranquility which might have been diſturbed by envy and feare, more then by any other thing whatſoever, had a purpoſe not to dilate, but to reſtrain, and likewiſe peradventnre to fortify the Confines of the Empire, thereby to be able the better to keep,

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and more quietly to enjoy it, *by his making it knowne that the desire of domination was not infinite, being terminated in a Prince that had bounded the Imperiall Confines:* He that was the first that made faith violable, was the He that did ruine the world, *for had not men been deceived by breach of faith, there would never have been jealousie, and without jealousie envy would have been of small account, because it would have beene alone.*

FINIS.